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THE 27-YEAR ITCH

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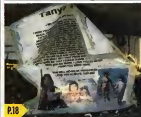
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MAYOR PAT PIAZZO called the report sensationalistic, but didn't argue the facts.

For Regina, anger is no substitute for action

In our Jan. 28 issue, we published a report by our National Correspondent Jonathan Gruber on the appalling social conditions in Regu's inner city. Headlined "Regu's 'Ghetto Neighborhood' is churning Third World levels of poverty, rampant prostitution, violent crime and drug infestation on the heart of the Siskiyewes capital. The area's mangled the masses of the Pecos, the master of Regu, who called it a shameful, seamy, and, no-sided attack on his beloved city. A few more in this area

First, it is simply untrue that Gutierrez's story passed over the work of civil leaders trying to make things better. He reported at length on people such as community representative Rosendo Martinez, public health nurse Janice Chant, and Region police Chief Cal Johnston and their efforts to make a difference. It was shameful and sensationalism of Mayor Plasco to portray our story as one-dimensional and negative.

Second, no amount of positive thinking can change facts, and Regina remains a city unamiable for its crime rate. While Johnston deserves credit for cutting property crimes by 15 per cent over the past year, violent crime is unchanged. And the city's rate of 4 murders per 100,000 population is second only to Edmonton in the country. Regina figures are also indicative of the province as a whole. In fact, most recent reports on national crime figures. Statistics Canada had this to say: "For the eighth year in a row, Saskatchewan was reported the highest rate in any one nation."

the provinces ... Saskatchewan's rate was 24 per cent higher than the next highest province, Manitoba."

Saskatchewan as a whole appears to be having trouble facing these facts. Consider a recent Saskatchewan Institute of Public Policy publication, "Media Presentation: Crime Statistics," by Fred Branch, the government of Saskatchewan's justice policy fellow for 2006. Mr. Branch argues that it is unfair to Saskatchewan for Statistics Canada and the media to focus on statistics making a situation of crime as horrendous per 100,000. Better for the agency to record murders per capita. However, he says, Branch would "then compare the great swath of landlabeled between 'Moscow and Edmonton' with metropolitan Toronto for statistical purposes." The result being that Saskatchewan's image might improve.

Seasonal confabulations and noisy attacks on the banners of bad news are two ways to deal with Regina's problems. There are other, more useful, approaches. Shortly after our report was published, Franco held his first-ever City Hall summit with the leaders of southern Saskatchewan's First Nations to discuss aboriginal problems. As Gauthier's article pointed out, Aboriginal poverty and ongoing behaviour are key reasons for North Central's difficulties. Engaging active leaders and facing up to these important issues will do far more to improve Regina's image—and the facts that drive that image—than using a media hog-scare and demanding that everyone act on a hazy fear. ■

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'You brought North Central into the national spotlight. Thank you for doing us justice.'



REGINA REACTS

THANKS WITH a loud disagree with Jonathan Gathouse about Regina ("Canada's worst neighbourhood," *National*, Jan. 15). We have been in North Central for many years. We own our home and have worked damn hard to earn a paycheck since I was a teenager. My income soon early, made charitable donations, and was active in the arts

and investing right here, and we have seen research done to improve our community, none of which was included in this article. It's my hope you will consider re-writing to do a story on all the positives we have—community programs, family centres and other organisations. I'm sure if you only look for one thing, it won't all you'll find.

Wade Murray, City Councillor, Regina



SCENES FROM THE INNER CITY: A reader says there has been 'a surge of remarks'

community and a national political party is as in the time money in this community increased police presence, neighbourhood improvement programs and reintegration projects have had no visible impact on improving the quality of life here. I have had my own car towed, finding my car broken into, lawn decorations stolen, flower beds vandalized, or drinks relieving their blindness on my lawn. Gathouse wrote a valid article. I am glad he brought North Central into the national spotlight. Thank you for doing us justice.

Phil S. Olinberg, Regina

I HAVE BEEN BATTERED by dozens of my fellow friends and neighbours to write you. I'm frustrated that as a twice-elected city councillor, I was not asked for my input, although I don't think I would have mattered anyway. We live in a diverse community with many people, languages, colours and religions. Over the past 15 years, we have lived in North Central raising our two kids, running a busi-

ness and investing right here, and we have seen research done to improve our community, none of which was included in this article. It's my hope you will consider re-writing to do a story on all the positives we have—community programs, family centres and other organisations. I'm sure if you only look for one thing, it won't all you'll find.

programs in the area. How about only allowing people to receive assistance if they graduate high school? Oh, wait, silly me. This is common sense and there is no room for that in politics or the law. I really do love the city. Despite its flaws, I wouldn't want to live anywhere else.

J.M. Kwan, Regina

GATHOUSE'S ARTICLE has brought our city's public sector into full post-Canadian view, and I hope merely burning up the issue is no longer an option for our policy-makers. Regina is great town, my home. But as much as I love it, as racial tensions and inner city problems have matched my appreciation with downright disgust. While it's unfortunate that national endorsement may be the necessary catalyst for change, one can only hope that something positive—and permanent—will come of this.

Jeanette Epp, Regina

REGINA IS, by far, the best place I have ever lived. My wife and I were surprised, amazed even, at the number of great neighbourhoods in Regina. North Central is not pretty, but the city is working on correcting that, it just doesn't happen overnight. If you would be interested in doing a reality check using police or why Regina is the best place in Canada to live, work and raise a family, you can come here and I will show you around and you can stay in my house while you're here. I never would have called such a thing a a 'strange before, but the attitude and cheer of the people here has rubbed off on me.

Joan Mall, Regina

WITHIN LEGAL BOUNDARIES, Madson's has the right to print what it pleases. However, you have responsibilities for a balanced representation and accuracy. Both of these are missing in the Regina article. There are, without question, very serious problems in the neighbourhoods you talked about. However, there are also people working hard to improve things and having small successes. To ignore these people and their work is irresponsible. I was also concerned about quotes from so-called experts who are not named and a very inflammatory quote from a national newspaper. However, the accuracy of the story was really called into question

for me when I realized that the picture you ran on the last page of the story to illustrate the mess in North Central or the Core was not from either of those neighbourhoods, but rather of a demolition site across the street from the Regina Police Station.

Pat Arnold, Scarborough, Sask.

WHO'S COUNTING CALORIES?

IT'S BACK TO THE 1950s once again devoted to diet ("A recipe for disaster, or the slummy on living long?" *Health*, Jan. 15). When Danny's Henderson's article on Calorie Restriction talked about the claims of better mental health as a result of better eating habits, I was reminded of something I've not been hearing, but I have been on a diet prescribed specifically for me by my allopathic practitioner. In a nutshell, this is it: no sugar, no dairy, no wheat. After being on the diet for just a few months, I went for my quarterly appointment with my dental hygienist. He did a double take when he looked at my mouth. In fact, he asked the dentist right in to take a look. They wanted to know: what was I doing differently? The answer is my mouth went from that much healthier. Appropos are diet equals healthier me.

Andrea Perry, London, Ont.

CALORIE RESTRICTION is a nutritional program that followers believe will cause them to live longer while maintaining totally healthy throughout every year along the way. The statement by Helene Payton of the Institute of Aging, indicating that people who follow CR will suffer malnutrition for 30 or 40 years is ridiculous. As the interview with my son Michael has made clear, CR practitioners are extremely concerned with packing optimal nutrition into their daily food consumption and going great lengths to accomplish that goal. Pierre's Guadalupe of the University of St. John's indicates the statement that Michael will have to "strut along again" or an advanced age. How goofy is that? He has never stopped eating.

In fact, like many CR practitioners, Michael can huge quantities of food, every meal carefully planned to be loaded with nutrition. If Professor Guadalupe's essay counts that he will have to increase his caloric intake when he reaches an advanced age, how could this be considered a negative? Increasing his caloric intake surely brings the suffering nature of his contemporaries will be evident from diabetes, heart disease and Alzheimer's.

Jeff Austin, Greece, Ala.

MY GREAT AUNT passed away just before Christmas at the age of 104. Several other women in our town have also lived to more than 100. They did not diet. They were people who lived a hard life opening up the

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'It's not Calorie Restriction, but exercise and sensible eating that are the secrets to a long, healthy life. CR disciples sound like anorexics.'

Prisoners and large corporations have turned the calories as part of their everyday lives. It's not Calorie Restriction, but exercise and the sensible eating that are the secrets to a long, healthy life. CR disciples sound like anorexics by another name. *Paul Newkirk/Jeff, The Post, Montreal*

YOUR STUFF and your seat view with CR diet prep are a match. Realize a calorie dieting trend. Shortly before the end of the Second World War, at the request of the U.S. Department of Defense, nutritionist Ancel Keys gathered a volunteer collection of male University of Minnesota undergrads to study the effects of semi-starvation. The human effects of extreme calorie restriction were astounding. In addition to the expected physical effects, many previously healthy young men became so odd, while often developed various eating disorders. Six years later, this seminal study is still quoted. Life threatening eating disorders like anorexia nervosa and bulimia are often directly linked with earlier restrictive diets. I'd better to think of the high risk individuals who may now be tempted to experiment with this dangerous system (please).

Dr. Steve Clark, Eating Disorders Program, Humberwood Medical Center, Guelph, Ont.

PERSONALLY DON'T see the point of extending your life to celebrate those few extra birthdays if you're not even going to bother to enjoy the ride. *Sharna Minner, Vancouver*

GENTLY DOWN THE ROAD

AS A BUTTER of a hybrid, I read Barbara Ricciardi's piece about the EPA's new fuel efficiency ratings with interest. ("Diving into it," *Entrepreneur*, Jan. 15) I would like to make a couple of points. She said "drivers have no accurate idea of their car's real fuel consumption." This is not true as the use of my 2007 Geo Hybrid. It gives me a variation on both gasoline and fuel "trip" fuel consumption in liter/100 km. I've only had the vehicle for three days, but I am starting to see how I can adjust my drive

ing habits to reduce CO₂ emissions, which I guess is the whole point. Right on also that the Mazda 3, the Honda Civic and the Toyota Corolla were "tiny little" cars. ("Zero Zeros Zeroes" doesn't come with a price: the Mazda 3's engine displacement is two liters compared to my hybrid's 1.5. I'm all in favour of more accurate fuel efficiency ratings, but I just happen to not be hooked on highway driving at 130 km/h.) As the quoted EPA spokesman John Minner, "It seems repeating that you drive more greenly, you get better gas mileage." *Stephens Robinson, St. Catharines, Ont.*

RED TAPE REDUX

I'VE MUCH enjoyed your compilation of photos for 2006 ("The year in pictures," Jan. 1). There were so many incredible moments caught on film. I particularly liked the December fall page spread of former Liberal leader Jean Chrétien, John Turner and Paul Martin who, along with Stephen Harper, were caught at the leader ship convention in their natural habitat—literally drowned in red tape. You can't pay for every that trick. *Colin Sawatzky, Mississauga, Ont.*

IN PASSING

Patrick Mitchell, 64, bank robber and leader of the Knappton Gang. Known for speedily, non-violent heists, the gang stole \$15 million from 140 banks across North America during the '70s and '80s. In 1974, they successfully robbed \$700,000 in gold bars from the Ottawa airport, which were never recovered. Mitchell escaped from jail three times before his final incarceration in 1994. He died of cancer in a North Carolina prison.

Alice Colonne, 65, jazz pianist and wife of John Coltrane. She was moved to Yale Ohio after replacing McCoy Tyner in her husband's band, but later disapproved such criticism. She later became a Hindu. Her last album, *Sacred Journey* of America, will be released in February.

7 DAYS



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF FIDEL CASTRO

On Monday, the Spanish newspaper *El Financiero* reported that the ailing 87-year-old Cuban leader, who has not appeared publicly since July, had taken a turn for the worse after three unsuccessful operations in his large intestine. On Tuesday, the paper's sources claimed he was not healing from surgical wounds and called his condition "very grave." The Spanish newspaper who examined the patient in December, however, stands by his prognosis that Castro will make a full recovery.

Good news

Canada makes nice

Two months ago, Stephen Harper took a swipe at China's dismal human rights record, insisting he would "fill out" the rest of the first black politician with the real potential to win the presidency. Today, Obama, a charismatic crowd favourite with only two years of Senate experience, has maintained a splendid reputation. As a candidate, however, he'll be praised to take a stance on the gay issue, including gay—accepting his critics say he should stay away from the federal Election Commission that will allow him to begin raising campaign funds. Still, he'll be able to relax, as he will become the first black politician with the real potential to win the presidency. Today, Obama, a charismatic crowd favourite with only two years of Senate experience, has maintained a splendid reputation. As a candidate, however, he'll be praised to take a stance on the gay issue, including gay—accepting his critics say he should stay away from the federal Election Commission that will allow him to begin raising campaign funds. Still, he'll be able to relax, as he will become the first black politician with the real potential to win the presidency.

Bad news

Sympathy for a devil

The martyrdom of Saddam has been seen as a triumph, but following the controversial execution of one of his former allies, British diplomat Al-Farisi, the head of his revolutionary group. When the trap door opened beneath them, Bush's head was snipped from his body. A spokesman for Iraq PM Nuri al-Maliki called the execution an "act of God."

FACE OF THE WEEK



ON MONDAY, compared twice Martin and Sophie Rodriguez ended in Bogotá, Colombia, on Tuesday, they would be separated.

Making green

Last year, British economist Sir Nicholas Stern published a landmark report suggesting that global warming could cut the world's GDP by 10 per cent. This week, Stern's old colleagues now believe the world's "monstrous" is dealing with climate change. In particular, he praised California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, who promised to cut emissions by 80 per cent. On Tuesday, Liberal Leader Stéphane Dion urged Canadian business to profit from the environmental movement by developing the technologies required to help companies reduce emissions. Meanwhile, Stephen Harper has invited the Governor to Canada to talk trade, perhaps keeping his green back rub off on the Tories.

He is not a crook

In a stunning victory for leaders, gentler conservatism, Ontario's ruling minister Rob Harris has been tapped to lead the 2007 White House Correspondents Association dinner. The job, held in April, was a U.S. politician, including the President, and their media treatment for an evening of ceremonial speeches. Last year's host, Stephen Colbert, amazed conservatives with his pointed jokes. Little, but known for marketing long dead figures like Richard Nixon and John Wayne, the comedian is a controversy-free event.

Au revoir

United in their vision of a new Quebec, the leaders of the Bloc and Parti Québécois parties have announced their intention to develop a joint election strategy.

That's just cold

After months of pleasant but oddly warm temperatures, winter returned to Canada with vengeance on Monday. Arctic winds from the north, wreaking havoc on the highways, shutting down schools and government offices of places. In Ottawa and Montreal, residents were hit with their first snowfalls of the season. A deep freeze was announced in New Scotia, and in Manitoba, temperatures dropped below -20°C. The West Coast, however, by now and more storms for weeks, was hit by ferocious winds. Powerful gusts pulled a 235 m grain ship from its moorings and sent it aground in the Prince Rupert harbour.

The gang's all gone

For more than 50 years, the Edmonton Blacklacks have enjoyed the unwavering support of the Knuckle Gang, a coalition of friends from ages 12 and older who sit in a specially reserved (and unpaid) section of the stands. There are the cheap seats in the house, sitting as little as \$2.50 per game. But the CFL fans, sitting atop turn-out in recent years, has decided to scrap the discount section. The reason? Parents these days are too afraid to leave their kids alone. ■

DANIEL MACGREGOR/GETTY IMAGES

JAN 20 2008

Stephen Harper's twisted walk back on Iraq



PAUL WELLS

The Prime Minister insists. "I first saw World Khan after his election to Parliament in 2004," Stephen Harper told *enr.com*. When he wheeled out the newly Conservative member of Parliament, therefore a Liberal, "I admired his knowledge, inspiring life story and his obvious love for our country."

Khan, as you know, agreed to report to Harper on Middle Eastern affairs while still a Liberal. Now he will sit as a Conservative. "He has travelled to the Middle East, provided me with a report," Harper said. "His work has been thoughtful, detailed and rich in very helpful information."

This is high praise. In fact, the last time Stephen Harper was that impressed with somebody's analysis of the Middle East, the analyst in question was George W. Bush.

President Bush has had a difficult time lately in Iraq. In the mid-term elections, Iraqis have elected no second, and it is about as tough as presidential life could stand—a "surge" of thousands of fresh troops in time more desperate struggle to stop and hold Baghdad.

Harper, by comparison, has had a very easy time. In his years as interviewee, he was not asked whether degrading the Baghdad regime still looks to him like a good idea, and whether Canada should have participated. Which is odd, because he's listed answers to these questions (he has since revised answers, over time) would tell us much about his judgment and mobility. Those are hardly signs of merely honest intellect.

Harper stood in the House of Commons on January 2003, to remind MPs that security is the priority. "October," he said, "that there is a real danger that Saddam Hussein's ongoing program to produce weapons of mass destruction... Experience confirms that Iraq, Canada and American intelligence leaders no doubt on the matter."

Therefore, Canada must help depose Saddam Hussein. Failure to do so, Harper said, "is not fitting with the greatness of our history or without standing as a nation?"

Later in March, the Bloc Québécois provoked a Commons vote on a motion "that the House call upon the government not to participate in the military intervention in Iraq as it will have a vote on March 18. The 50 MPs who voted 'yes'—who did not want Canada to step out of Iraq—included

about sending Canadian troops to Iraq. "Given our limited military capacity and the cost to which our people are already over-committed across the world, I don't think that's feasible."

Campaigning in British Columbia, several weeks later, he said his 2003 stance "was about putting pressure on Saddam to comply with UN resolutions." If Canada had done so, "we wouldn't have needed a war." Which would, apparently when he said, six days into the war.



The last time he was this impressed with Mideast analysis, it was George W. Bush's

almost every Alliance MP present, including Stephen Harper.

Later that day the U.S. and the United Kingdom finally began their bombing campaign against Baghdad. Six days later, Harper told the Commons "We should be there with our allies where it counts against Saddam Hussein."

Two days after that, he published a letter in the *Wall Street Journal*. "Jean Charest has left Canada mired in this multilateral condition of inaction," he wrote. "This is a serious mistake."

Months later, Harper was still famous. He told his magazine in August 2003: "Canada remains alienated from its allies, that out of the reconstruction process to secure Iraq, unable to influence events. There is no apathy to the position Canada took."

I believe these points because, as soon as the Iraq adventure went sour, Harper put so much distance in his words between himself and his own earlier, Bush, Tony Blair and Australia's John Howard. Say they say what they will about their wisdom, at least they stick with their policy after it became unpopular. Harper cut and ran.

April 26, 2004, on CTV, Harper was asked

that "we should be there... when it counts" he forgot to say it no longer counted.

By December 2003, Harper had many more or less saying: "I've written to the *Wall Street Journal*." "While I support the removal of Saddam Hussein and applaud the efforts to establish democracy and freedom in Iraq, I do not now consider Canadian troops to that country." *Wall Street Journal* (Jan. 2003) was Charest who supported Saddam's removal and would not consider Canadian troops.

George W. Bush got the world into this mess because he professed the mastery of crimes and ideologies to credible information from professional diplomats and analysts. Harper is making a parallel mistake by letting his Middle East wagon to World Khan, a columnist from Massachusetts who last fell in the Palestinian or Israeli before his new Commons colleague James Munro was born.

In the Prime Minister's private world, therefore, it is not the advice he chooses to believe, and the judgment that he chooses to reveal. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells visit his blog at www.mackinnon.ca/stephenwells

Whatever happened to the new American continent?



ANDREW POTTER

After I introduced myself second at a New Year's party I managed to crash in Mexico City, I was approached by a young Chicagoan. "You realize," he told me, "that I'm Canadian? Is a pickup line around here, don't you?" I truthfully, I did not. But while I wasn't surprised (shabby, bearded Mexicans are not really my type), I did feel flattered. Could it be, I thought, that his Canadaphilia was the early fruit of continental integration, the expression of some new sort of NAFTA effect?

That fleeting hope was quickly dashed away by my new friend's confusion that what he liked about Canadians was that they are just as anti-American as Mexicans.

There are two widely accepted lines on NAFTA. The first is that while it bound both Canadian and Mexican tightly to the United States, it did not do much for Canada-Mexico relations. The second is that while Canada, which had done quite well under NAFTA, Mexico had a tougher go at it.

Neither is entirely true. Inside between Mexico and Canada has flourished since NAFTA, more than tripling in value in the first 10 years of the agreement. Yet there is no question that Ross Perot's "great sucking stop" caused by jobs fleeing the U.S. to Mexico completely failed to occur, and that neither and activists continue to argue over the impact of NAFTA on Mexican unemployment, income and productivity, especially in an crucial agricultural sector.

Nevertheless, it is true that recent Canada-Mexico trade has increased, the two countries remain politically and culturally estranged. As far as new Canadians are concerned, Mexico is little more than a source where some Americans of a glimmering optimism aligns one to Florida.

There was supposed to be a treaty to that, this was NAFTA was signed in 1994. No one expected North America to turn into the

BC overnight, but NAFTA was heralded as the first step toward the creation of a new, if still undefined, North American political community. By 2000, the commercialist energies were at their peak, such a great deal of public debate centered on the question of "NAFTA plus." Would the next step be a common North American currency, an approximation of the free movement of labor, or even about

was far from North American in fact and form: a geographical designation. Barring as Mexico is to the south-western half of the U.S., there is no question it is a North American country. But as for the question of identity, well, identities are only as good as the uses to which they are put.

In that light, when it appears to unite Canadians and Mexicans in their instinctive but



Mexicans must be the only people who brag about the food on their national airline

night customs when? Those were heady times.

The *New York Times* correspondent Andrew Delbanco tried to capture this spirit with *First A Biography of the New American Century*. Released in the summer of 2001, the book was an attempt at the writing of an entire generation still rebelling against older ideas of truth and morality. Delbanco wrote: "Whenever I fly out as a consultant from an airport, I hesitate for a moment, just long enough to consider simply writing the word 'love' for place of residence. I have come to feel like a Newlander, a citizen of North America, with all the opportunity for staring over that the concept exists."

The article of 9/11 per se was a momentous event in that kind of life. The question we face now is what, if any, might be the place of 9/11 in the life of the North American citizenry? The question we should ask is, in even possible, is the idea of North American identity the sort of thing we should welcome, and try to build upon? I asked a few Mexicans if they "felt North American," and we met with waves of laughter. Mexicans, they replied, did not feel North American, nor did they feel Latin American. They were just Mexicans. (And we really proud of it, because, meant to be that people on their way long about the quality of the food on their national airline.)

They were right to laugh—the question

largely implicit was anti-American. Like Canadians, Mexicans know their economic, political, and even cultural history is inextricably tied to that of the U.S. Both countries exist in a constant of foreign policy decisions, with both John Charest and Vicente Fox declaring to join George W. Bush's coalition of the willing for the invasion of Iraq. In many ways, the writing of the check is just a way of drawing attention away from the fact that the term is largely empty.

It would be a shame if Mexicans and Canadians came to share nothing more than a half-hearted recognition of the United States. The big risk we face now is that North American integration is happening too quickly, but that it is too good to risk.

Andrew Delbanco's "Newlander" fantasy was always a little much, the sort of thing only an American (or maybe just a reporter from the *New York Times*) could imagine. Yet Delbanco also had a more modest hope, that his book would not be able to "consider" just opening in Manhattan, Montreal or Mexico as just another opportunity. That is a decent wish worth pursuing, and it is in particular that we must all pay from now on.

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter visit his blog at www.mackinnon.ca/andrewpotter



ACTING OUT AT THE GOLDEN GLOBES



- 1 Spanish actress Penélope Cruz
- 2 Director Martin Scorsese, with his Golden Globe for *The Departed* and Steven Spielberg
- 3 Sexiest Paris Hilton with Beverly Hills mansion picture projected on Charles J. Fox
- 4 Dublin Hoffman and Rissa Waterspoon
- 5 Scorsese, combining 60s with 1950s
- 6 A trio of desperate housewives embrace: Patricia Richardson, Heather Graham and Dr. Lohan
- 7 Actress Halle Berry
- 8 Helen Mirren best actress for *The Queen*
- 9 Desperate housewife Teri Hatcher
- 10 Actress Halle Berry, with long-time admirer, and friends
- 11 Comedian Bill Maher with desperate woman
- 12 Actress Halle Berry and Timothee Chalamet: NBA player-turned actor Nick Faurie



OF NEVER BETTY AN JORDAN



One woman made a vow: 'I don't know how many years I have left, I just know I don't want to spend them with you'

DEIRDRE BAIR, BIOGRAPHER AND AUTHOR OF 'CALLING IT QUITS: LATE-LIFE DIVORCE AND STARTING OVER,' TALKS TO ANNE KINGSTONE

Q As a biographer, you've always chosen trouble: for subjects—Sandra de Beers, Anne Rice, Samuel Beckett and Carl Jung. Now you've written the first book on late-life divorce. Did you see it as the next reward?

A I did. Starting around the end of 1999, everywhere I went I was encountering someone going through late-life divorce. It seemed there was a phenomenon going on. When I phoned my agents to talk to her about it, she wanted talking to all of these people that I had done. Two of the people who ended up being on the book said, "Oh, my God, I just went through that! I want to be the book."

Q How did you define "late-life divorce?"

A Someone who had been married 20 years or more. The people I interviewed were mostly in their 50s, they ranged through 60. People were ending 35 year, 60 year marriages.

Q Your own 47-year marriage ended in divorce, yet you don't write about it. Why?

A I never talk about myself. I have one or two friends to whom I confide, but I really did write this book as an objective observer.

Q You talked to 126 men and 114 women, interviewing hundreds of survivors. What if any—patterns did you find?

A A growing age. I used a quote from Liz Luan Hillman to introduce one of the chapters: "People change; and they forget to call each other." An indifference comes to pass, a lack of communication, a non-sharing of

anything on any level. That seemed to be what surprised so many people to say, "There has to be something better, the fix has to be something different." Of course, actually, it was a very large component, but mostly in the upper classes. And the reason that it was possible for these people to divorce rather than to just end their lives living separately within a dead marriage, I think, was the first instinctive moment of the 1970s. Many women either worked or they had the experience of knowing that they could make it on their own, that they were entitled as a person of the husband's previous or whatever if they had not worked outside the home, as they felt that basically they would be able to survive. People in their 60s are saying, "I could have 20 more years of life and I don't want those 20 years to be what I'm living now, I want something better." I think having more opportunities for financial survival, and leading longer, healthier lives, has inspired many people to make this really astonishing leap.

Q What late-life divorce is after the divorce of the wealthy. But your analysis is much broader. Did it surprise you that people were willing to forfeit financial security, particularly women?

A Ultimately, as a lawyer, mediator I spoke to described better in the reality divorce: "I'm the one who has to tell [the woman] they're not going to be able to make it on their own and they're going to have to find a way to survive within the marriage." I tell the story of one woman who remained in her marriage for another 15 years and would

come in periodically to see her, and each time the mediator would have to say, "Nothing has changed. This will be your life if you leave this marriage." Finally at the end of 15 years this woman said, "I don't care if I can't survive, I just can't stay at that house with him on other days, and she did get a divorce."

Q Obviously at that age, awareness of her utility figure in the divorce. It's still an amazing story of a woman who ended a 33-year marriage after a husband's murder.

A Yes. The woman would update the bank print and said, "I don't know how many years I have left. I just know I don't want to spend them with you." There was a woman on our plane going to make a crash landing and she said to herself, "If I get out of this, I'm getting a divorce." Another woman in Texas whose son was injured in a fatal bike crash said, "Dear God, let him survive, and if I can't, I'll get a divorce and make a better life for my kids."

Q There's a lot of sense of closure to follow in most of the people you spoke with?

A No. Even people who come from very fundamental Protestant backgrounds do really deeply feel the program. They regretted that their church would no longer take them in or that they weren't as welcome in various social settings as they had been when they were part of a couple. But if there was any stigma, it was very slight.

Q So they didn't agonize about breaking their marital vows?

A No, not really. What came across was a greater sense of relief.

Q Your chapter on post-divorce sexuality covers that landscape in context. Did you find a gender divide in terms of expectations?

A Men felt, when they first were in the dating game, that they had in perfect, and then they discovered that to go far into sex was something different for almost every woman they met with. Many men were surprised by the fact that women liked cuddling and snuggling, and if they didn't have genital sex that was perfectly fine with them. Women, on the other hand, were appalled by the behavior of men who didn't probably never had a sexual life in their bed before they married, and during their marriage the only sex they got was when their wife "put out." And now here they are like kids in the candy shop. I tell a story about a woman who asked a very nice doctor for a man the last time. He came into his apartment and said, "Will we have the sex before or after?" she said, "Well, I thought we were just going to go to know each other," and he said, "Listen, lady, I know a lot of women I can just know. Do you want to be my next one?" and she walked out! Genetically, though, even though they'll have to adapt, accommodate, find somebody to take care of them—very realistic, realistic responses. Women hoped for something better, something different.

Q Obviously we have to see how this trend will play out socially. But you allude to seeing new kinds of living arrangements among the post-divorced.

A I was just amazed by the creativity—the people who went into continued housing, or who banded together in rooming houses. And again that goes back to the idea of loneliness, that people who have been part of a couple or part of a family don't want to be alone, they were accustomed, they want engagement with other people.

Q Many of the people in the book convey a sense of loneliness about starting a new life. But there was also sadness and regret.

A There were some people, of course, who were depressed and bitter and who would never get over the divorce. Some women would say, "I will never marry again. I will make that bastard pay for the rest of his life." The people who suffered the most, I found, were the women who had been the wives of the men who I described as wealthy "CEOs." They've had access to wealth and to power, and to having people being deferential to the sake of who their husband is. Then suddenly they've been replaced by a trophy wife, someone who represents look like them but who is much younger. And even though they've been well provided for, they don't have the power and attention that came

to them during their marriage. I heard a story too late to use of a woman in Connecticut whose CEO husband dumped her, who went to a plastic surgeon to change her appearance, changed her name and moved away. She didn't even tell her children who she was until months later. Another man was angry and bitter that I was really going to be a mother again—he was in Canada actually. He was so convinced that his wife was going to come back to him and I thought, "Oh, God, you're so angry and abusive, how did this man do it years before he left you?" Many men didn't know what he thought. They would say, "I thought everything was okay. Why did she do that?" Those men were more concerned about their life after divorce. It was as if they were having to reinvent and reinvent everything about themselves. But for the most part people really were optimistic.

Q Your interview with a child of late-life divorcing couples suggests that children are never too old to be affected by it.

A That's right. The response I heard the most was they were devastated, even though they had grown up in unhappy homes and knew that the parents were not going along. The second response was that they were angry; they wanted to stay after all those years their parents couldn't live together. The less frequent response was "What took them so long? Why didn't they do this earlier?"

Q Did you talk to children who encouraged the divorce?

A I visited the homes that were truly exceptional—where the husband was an alcoholic who beat the wife, the children wanted to stop it all. And most of the children resented it when one parent forced them to take sides.

Q I've heard that the men's anger toward the parent who initiates the divorce. Did you find that?

A What I found was that there was anger about the wife left the marriage for another man.

Q Most women, though, I hear for so long. There's a man in "Enter to be alone" in a bad marriage.

A With women talk about that. You know, women will say, "I love being able to have an apple and some cheese and a glass of wine for my dinner rather than having to cook that huge meal that has to be on the table precisely at 6 p.m.," and "I will never pick up a man's dirty laundry again, so long to live."

Q You write, "Divorce is one of the many op-

tion for making a life again over and over again." Is that not just the repossessing power of divorce that been over romanticized?

A I think that's true, especially for women. They all felt they were going out into the great unknown and it was going to be romantic and even a good wonderful. Realistically speaking, it was none of those things, but they were doing really well. They did adjust, they did accommodate and they did feel that they had done the right thing by getting divorced.

Q This is a journeying work. It tracks not just many people and what solutions is the fact they're not alone in unhappy marriages.

A I wanted it to be that. I think that divorce is such a drastic action, but I think if you feel that you have to take it, it would be good if you had something that would give you support,



Most adult children were 'devastated, even though they knew the parents never got along'

and also something that would give you meaning in the sense that this will be the financial reality of your situation when and if you divorce—this is what you will face if you go up against the legal system, that kind of thing. I also have some friends who are not without thinking of ending to give your marriages and I keep saying to them, "It should be your last resort. It should not be something you go into lightly. You have to think very carefully about what you're going to be doing." ■

For more on late-life divorce, see story on page 43.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JACQUELINE KENNEDY HUNTER

JASON KENNEY'S MINORITY REPORT

What does a white Tory from Calgary know about courting the ethnic vote?

BY JOHN GEORDES • Jason Kenney's stable majority political credentials are solid. He's the white MP from the white bread riding of Calgary Southwest, far from multicultural hotbeds of Toronto and Vancouver. Yet Kenney is the top Conservative minister to minority communities in both political circles, and his boss since last fall: Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Kenney has the sole cabinet portfolio in his ministry: secretary of state for multiculturalism and Canadian identity. He's already well on his way to spreading his Second Step teachings from, say, a Tamil breakfast to a Pakistani lunch to a Chinese dinner. "I'm absolutely, as I have the time," Kenney says, "and I have trouble saying no." It's a strain on the waistline of a politician who once washed his smug. He form his official duties recently at a party following the glory Taroni to promote for the Bollywood movie *Gang*, when he tossed down a two-night pass of curry.

If only doing his way onto the beams of immigrant voters was all there was to it. The task is far tougher: persuading newer Canadians to rethink their long-held view that Liberals are the natural champions on Ottawa. The Tories' most successful tactic for making inroads in big-city ethnic ridings lately has been long Liberal deflection—burly a high-volume business. "The only immigrant dominated seat in the Tories hold in the country's two most diverse cities came courtesy of David Emerson, the Vancouver MP who switched sides just after the last election to become trade minister, and Vinod Khanna, the suburban Toronto MP who recently changed sides. And those headbatters are far from accurate. Emerson might not run again, but Khanna is vulnerable to whenever the Liberals put up against him next time.

Clearly, the Tories need a real strategy. Kenney argues they've found it in a combination of symbolic overtures and substantial policy. Harper has shown an eagerness to acknowledge old wrongs. For the Chinese, an apology for the head tax they once had to pay to enter Canada. For Indians, an inquiry into the Atlatla bombing. For Armenians, recognition that they suffered genocide in



HUSTLING FROM A TAMIL BREAKFAST TO A PAKI/LI LUNCH TO A CHINESE DINNER CAN BE A STRAIN ON THE WAISTLINE



CHINESE- CANADIAN ban has surprised and other minorities about the PM for a photo op



the early 19th century in Turkey. On more current issues, the Conservatives cut the very landing fee for immigrants in half, and allowed citizenship candidates to take off campaign jobs. The next priority, Kenney says, is to address the anxiety problems immigrants face getting their foreign professions and trade credentials recognized in Canada. "That's come upon the top practical concerns of immigrants," he said. "Unfortunately, they are almost all areas of provincial jurisdiction, so there is nothing we can do by federal fiat."

It's an aggressive agenda, and one that has the Prime Minister bonding old ethnic stock in ethnic politics. "The traditional love affair between the Liberal party and many of its ethnic constituents has run its course," he declared last week. Kenney is more cautious. "It's a long process for us," he said in an interview. "This is the challenge: towards decolonization, towards a multiculturalism that is not just a

diversity but a liberal party joined to 54 per cent, which means looking for the Tories drops up to only eight per cent. "Liberalism shows a failure around ethnic multiculturalism," says Kenney, president of Toronto-based Business Research. "The Conservatives have a big dilemma to solve. If the difference between parties isn't obvious on some policy issue, the default position is to vote Liberal."

Kenney has been trying to chip away at that huge Liberal advantage for a decade. Back in 1997, when he was first running for the Reform party, he was a key early supporter of candidates Robert Joffe, a Muslim, in Edmonton, and Deepak Oberoi, a Hindu, in Calgary—both of whom went on to the final three minority MPs. As a key organizer in Joffe's successful bid to lead the *Canadian Alliance* in 2000, Kenney helped bring about a coalition of supporters, largely from the Jewish and Muslim immigrant enclaves in Ontario, drawn by Joffe's support for independent religious groups. That socially conservative strain in some immigrant groups

above his Tory model 30 per cent. Conservative leader Stephen Harper will be a prime target again in the next election. And they are hopeful about a few other ridings that don't crack the top 15 for immigrants, but do have large ethnic communities, like Mississauga-Brampton, near Toronto, and Newmarket-North York, near Vancouver.

Kenney will be dropping in to such ridings frequently. His packed agenda from a recent two-day swing around Toronto gives an idea of how he works: meet with Jewish leaders assembled by Shalom Beth, visit the editorial offices of the Italian newspaper *Corriere Canadese*, breakfast with Tamil leaders, open a provincial Tory election office in Markham with a Chinese Canadian candidate, discuss foreign policy with government ministers, attend a Chinese community event. That's a lot of unfamiliar names to pronounce for a guy raised mostly in rural Saskatchewan. Kenney says he met few people from other cultures as a boy, but when he went away to San Francisco University to study philosophy and discover conservative

he became convinced to avoid joining the huddle of groups primed to defend their right to be different.

And the Liberal won't care their ground without a fight. Under the fresh leadership of Stéphane Dion, an erstwhile young group of young Liberal ethnic politicians is a rising force. Prominent among them is Toronto-area Sikh MP Nandoo Bains. He targets the Liberal's bedrock advantage in their willingness to use government for social ends, which resonates more with immigrants than the Tories' less government-to-better-bet. For instance, he says, because young immigrant families often rely on both parents working outside the home, many preferred the old Liberal daycare program over Tory programs for each child under 6. On foreign policy, Bains contends that Harper's push to curtail Canada's embassy closures in Afghanistan, and his staunch support for Israel in last summer's Lebanon war, troubled many new Canadians. "They left regions of the world," he says, "where they learned the diplomatic and political solutions, not always



NEW CONSERVATIVES: Harper with Mark Pearson (second) and MP Vinod Khanna, two Liberals who recently turned Tory

has often seemed the most obvious easy point for right-of-center politicians. In last year's election, the same-sex marriage debate was expected to tip some religious Sikhs, Jews, Muslims and others to the "yes" vote.

But if that swing materialized at all, it was hardly decisive. In the 15 ridings with the largest immigrant populations, all of which are in Toronto and Vancouver, the Tories crested their vote share over 2004 at least a bit in each case. But failed to beat the Liberal in any of them. In fact, the Liberal popular vote slipped slightly in most, about 30 per cent in 12 of the 15. In only one of these immigrant magnet ridings, B.C.'s Richmond, which had the highest Chinese population of them all, did a Liberal incumbent lose to a Conservative MP. Raymond Chan took 43 per cent of the vote, not far

ideology, that changed that. "San Francisco was diversity on steroids," he recalls. "One of my roommates in college was a Muslim. I dated a black girl, a girl from El Salvador at one point. I was friendly with a Zoroastrian Persian. I had a Mom."

But Kenney's embrace of cultural pluralism is tempered with concern about cultural cohesion. Harper signaled that he wants the two aspects combined by signing his new multiculturalism post-modernist responsibility for fostering "Canadian identity." Kenney is still figuring out how to blend the roles. "How can we integrate newcomers into Canadian society," he wonders, "while at the same time acknowledging and celebrating the diversity of this country?" Any move that shifts emphasis on defending shared values—after decades of Liberal policy according the city's upside—would have

political ones, are most important."

Bains says Kenney's experience doesn't worry him, but is a "reminder that we should take nothing for granted." Kenney argues that Liberals have been doing just that for decades. "The last name of a Liberal candidate in Toronto," he says, "is far more likely to be Graham, Cohen, Kennedy or Smith than it is Dhillon or what have you." In the last two elections, he boasts, the Tories ran more viable minority candidates than the Liberals in and around the city. He vows his party will nominate a diverse bunch again for the next campaign, which could come later this year or even two years. It'll be running on a tag line of Harper government measures specially designed to win ethnic votes. It's hard to imagine the party, or Kenney, doing much more. Except maybe taking that last step of carry for the cause. ■



WENT 2 LACE: 992 is a dialogue with Aboriginals in the community, she says. The former city councillor says

'It's not the worst neighbourhood'

Regina's honchos gather to defend their city's wounded pride

BY GOSLIN CAMPBELL • Not even a single mention of the hood, in local club that gem of inner city Regina, attracts this type of action. The chief of police is here. So is the mayor. And two MPs, Liberal Ralph Goodale and Conservative Andrew Selinger. The local MLA has also made an appearance, as has the city councillor and reporters from the local newspaper and television station.

They're all at a small community centre in the heart of North Central—a neighbour hood that has recently been described as "Third World" and the message of the North for the chance to see Canada's magazine that this is not in fact Canada's worst neighbour hood, as it was dubbed in a recent story about lining the shopping centre, grocery and drug store problems here. And for owners who are they're seen to have their own parents who are happy to raise their kids here, children who are part of boxing and running programs, police who say crime is falling and politicians who talk about improvements in housing, employment and education.

At the centre of this story of race in Pat Pasco, the popular, affable mayor of Regina who has a habit of describing himself as a "little half full kind of guy." Under the pretense of promoting a Maclean's reporter a side about race in inner city Regina in North Central, he has brought his strength here for a meeting with "a few people." "A headline that reads 'Regina Regret' is a problem if you're someone in my position, or anyone," Pasco said earlier.

Like most who talk about the Maclean's story here, he prefaced his remarks by saying it was basically correct, and acknowledges there are some very real problems in North Central. But they are problems, he says, that the community is tackling with some results since he took office seven years ago. Overall crime dropped 15 per cent between 2004 and 2005 (although Regina has been at the top of the national crime rankings for nine of the past 10 years), 41 new homes have been built, and 412 new jobs have been created since he took office. He also pointed to the fact that the city's living standards index details were reported in the Maclean's story. In 2002, 22 per cent of the population lived in poverty, he says.

Caldwell, an Aboriginal. The politician, he says, "don't have any idea what it's like to go by here every day."

Driving through the ice-packed streets of her neighbourhood, Rosebud Caldwell, 57, says, "you're not a tourist." "Drug houses" and young girls she says are prostitutes, though they look impressively young—maybe 12. Her mother-in-law, Kathleen Allen, 58, says, "because that's where the kids can be found at night. The social life is very relaxed, and what's happened here is 'land and religion,'" she says. "It is a Canada's worst neighbourhood." What North Central really needs are a police force, a legal and clinic, a community fund bank, a welfare office, jobs for Aboriginals and, most important, a

SHE POINTS OUT COUNTLESS 'DRUG HOUSES' AND YOUNG GIRLS SHE SAYS ARE PROSTITUTES ON A STREET SHE CALLS KIDNIE ALLEY

urban reserve that would let community residents deal with the problems on their terms, she says.

Urban reserves exist in cities across Saskatchewan, but not in North Central, and not in Regina. Cities say they have dragged to foot on the issue, but Pasco says only two proposals have come across his desk, and he's approved them both and passed them on to the federal government for approval. City council will vote next week on a North Central affairs reserve, he says.

develops plans of action for North Central, says Pasco. "It's not the worst neighbourhood in Canada," he says. "It is."

Despite the public show of affection for North Central at the meeting, there are still issues, particularly in the Aboriginal community, who say things are not improving—and that the claims of some leaders amount to hot air. Residents of the neighbourhood's countless tiny clapboard houses, Ted Caldwell says the situation is worse than ever. Until last year, he was one of the key figures controlling the drug trade in North Central (family and health problems have so come back convinced him to quit). "The gangs are more organized and people keep getting poorer," says

What's lacking in the city's approach is a dialogue with Aboriginals in the community, says Jan Halima, a mayoral candidate who ran against Pasco in last October's election. "This city council has been aware of the issue, but what's missing is a willingness to work with people in the community and really listen to them," he says. Last week, Pasco invited local Aboriginal chiefs to City Hall to discuss urban issues (a meeting that was in the works for three months, not a result of the Maclean's story, he says—although it was his first such City Hall sit-down during six years in office).

Cand Moore, a local blogger who covers city politics, moved out of the inner city in April because his two young kids couldn't play in their yard without feeling crowded and restless. Improvements have been made, and the goal of money for community groups is being spent increasingly there, Moore says. "But the major pressures from the public or media, bedevils lawbreakers, but these houses/tenants are real innocent victims." Pasco says there have been no cuts in North Central or the inner core—for fear from the increased funding community advocates say their neighbourhood needs.

Still, the most pressing concern in North Central, especially on days like this one when temperatures dip below -30°C at night, is housing. "It's extremely bad," says Garvin Hunter, the director of the University of Regina's Social Policy Research Unit. The 41 new houses that city council are now trying to build in the largest problem, he says. Although the federal government is also to blame, he says the problem "hasn't been our mayor's fault." Despite missing some housing, the city has been ignored in repairing in place a landlord-tenant system that advocates have been complaining for years. Such an initiative would only address the inner landlord problem, says Moore. Right, the executive director of North Central's Welfare Rights Centre. In an interview with Maclean's, Pasco says he's now willing to look at the issue. Community groups also worry about city council's past efforts to put a base property tax in place, which they say would shift the tax burden on to areas like North Central and discourage home ownership.

Pasco acknowledges there's plenty of work to be done, but adds there's little he can do without considerable support from higher levels of government—the result of a fiscal imbalance affecting cities across Canada. But on this night in North Central, with a packed house of politicians and local leaders, the conversation seems much more focused on unwieldy civic pride than real solutions to North Central's daunting problems. ■

DANGER AND TAXES

Ottawa tries to claw back a salary boost for soldiers at Level Two

BY MICHAEL FRISVOLD • Two Canadian soldiers earning a normal day's pay today are on the lookout for thousands of dollars in the case of a one-quarter slash that, for now, is mistakenly blamed there. Military officials blame the bad news on the untested troops just days before Christmas, informing them that their top five paychecks were actually a big mistake. Both are now facing the prospect of having to pay back every dollar they didn't deserve—unless Stephen Harper's government decides otherwise.



AT KANDAHAR troops make big bucks. Not those in Ethiopia.

"Ours is a small mistake and therefore attracts little attention, but the risk and hardship in my opinion is just as high as in Afghanistan," wrote one of the troops, whose comments have surfaced in the military blogosphere. "I was told specifically by a member of the Treasury board that my mistake was to have them now clawing back our benefits from unacceptable."

The exact cause of the error, described as "regrettable" by a military spokeswoman, is still under investigation. What is clear, however, is that both soldiers fall victim to the bureaucratic machine that milks each combat deployment according to risk, based on a combination of combat time, hardship, living conditions and other factors, even mission receives a "Risk Assessment Level" between one and five. That assessment is be-

fore and above, such as Afghanistan, offer the greatest financial incentives. Troops in Kandahar, for example, enjoy a monthly "special allowance" of nearly \$2,000, plus a two-five wage of up to \$6,647 a month. (The

Conservative government was heavily critical last year for cutting bonuses if a new rifle soldier left Afghanistan early, officials have since reversed that decision.)

Operation Aurora, Canada's contribution to the Afghan Union training mission, is classified as Level Two. As a result, it displayed no mission (two in Kandahar, four in Darfur and six in Afghanistan, 12,000) receive a monthly operational allowance of close to \$1,600. From there, things get tricky. Although not automatic, the federal cabinet does have the authority to approve tax relief for Level Two mission on a case-by-case basis, which is what for Op Aurora. But the ruling applies to only half of the troops. Those stationed in Kandahar and Darfur earn twice wages, but not those in Ethiopia. (DHS is asked cabinet to control the relief to everyone, but doesn't have to be made.

In the meantime, the department's computer pay system says those assigned that two of the troops in Ethiopia have been killed, and compensated accordingly. When someone noticed the error, "it was a body's sight I don't know," says Commander Daniel LaViolette. "The bottom line is we need to make sure that taxpayers' money is appropriately spent. And if some people received a real reward, we need to make sure the Canadian public to make sure that we are administering their funds properly."

All will be fixed, of course, if cabinet declares Ethiopia as of course. Inside the hood, a spokesman for Defense Minister Gordon O'Connor, says he has hopes the request is rather stamped by the minister. "He fully supports it," she says. "And he doesn't expect any push-back." For those two soldiers, however, it's not enough. ■



WE HAVE OURSELVES ALL WRONG

What people would have questions concerning the other: they might have some concerns on questions of diversity there one thing. But to say that we're racist? No. That's not Quebec's case at all. —Quebec Premier Jean Charest responds to his new Liberal Minister's survey in which 88 per cent of Quebecers reported to being somewhat racist; 15 per cent are "moderately" racist; 43 per cent are "fairly" racist; and one per cent are "strongly" racist.

How can Somalia really be fixed?

The country that helped to foster terrorism needs help—big time

BY DEAN H. KRAUSE • It was three months after the 9/11 attacks in 2001. As Canadian warships patrolled the waters off Pakistan's north coast, looking for al-Qaeda members

from the country and strikes by the United States against al-Qaeda camps there, the international community must confront the issue of what to do about this chronically unstable nation. It is a question that assumes great global urgency, given that Somalia has in effect been an exporter of instability by spawning and housing terrorist groups, and may be that again.



fleeing the U.S.-led onslaught in Afghanistan, a five-crew American intelligence team made further south toward Basila, Somalia, to determine the extent of al-Qaeda activity in that country. U.S. Central Command, interpreting that Osama bin Laden's followers would regroup, considered the anarchy-ridden Somalia was a likely reorganization area, and was contemplating intervention. Other allied forces arrived in early 2002 to coordinate surveillance in the Somali coast. These places became the terrorist fugitives were using a "hot line" stretching from the mountains of Afghanistan through Iran or Pakistan, and the United Arab Emirates and Yemen, to gain sanctuary in the country that defied all international stabilization efforts in the early 1990s.

As Somalia still does. Now, after the Islamic

that Somalia has been a haven for al-Qaeda is beyond question. The 2005 bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, which killed hundreds, showed that the terrorist organization had in fact deeply embedded itself in eastern Africa. After 9/11, however, a resurgence of al-Qaeda inspired violence or other destabilizing efforts, the Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA)

was quietly established by U.S. Central Command in the former British colony of Djibouti in 2002. In the words of its first commander, Brig. Gen. Maureen Robinson, that task force was to use "military training, humanitarian aid and intelligence operations to keep northeastern Africa and Yemen from becoming the next Afghanistan by strengthening local security forces and keeping terrorist groups from operating."

An internal 2006 American study noted that the force "was to conduct raids on al-Qaeda targets—particularly Somalia." No such raids officially took place. But, in an early example of the approach now taken in Afghanistan with the Provincial Reconstruction Teams, the mission involved units not dedicated to, as Robinson explains it, creating "a long-term security force to maintain order." Here? By working with various national governments in the region, and tribes in Somalia, to help local populations by building schools, wells and roads. Not that active intervention against al-Qaeda targets were neglected. Brig. Gen. Michael DeLong, a former deputy CENTCOM commander, and that the 960-member task force "trained police forces, provided military and agency backup for missions on al-Qaeda terrorists." And meanwhile, multinational naval units sought "marginal Qaida terrorists, especially off the coast of Somalia."

It is no surprise that Ethiopia, one of the major recipients of aid from the task force, initiated military operations against the Islamicists who had taken over in Somalia. Critics were duly provoked that the United States "proxy war" could have even made matters



ETHIOPIAN SOLDIERS (top left), members of the Islamic Courts militia (below) in early December, U.S. Navy off the Somali coast (left). The U.S. viewed Somalia as an al-Qaeda reorganization area after the November attacks on Sept. 11, 2001.

as to an American struggle for oil and gas deposits in the region. The reality is, of course, more complex.

The fact that Ethiopia dominated Ethiopia is virtually surrounded by Muslim-dominated

regions is no doubt a factor when it responds to threats emanating from Somalia. However, Somalia has failed much regional efforts. In 2002, then entry itself as a support area for al-Qaeda cells operating in Kenya, including the groups that bombed a hotel and attempted to shoot down an Israeli airliner with a surface-to-air missile. The largest al-Qaeda-funded Somali Islamist group, al-Itihaad al-Islamiya, conducted cross-border operations against Ethiopia, which perpetuated real history raids along the border.

A 2004 U.S. Institute for Peace study concluded that Somalia "served primarily as a short-term transit point for movement of people and material... some al-Qaeda's resistance companies have also been created by al-Qaeda for waging large-scale attacks inside the reach of law enforcement and intelligence." Branches of Somali Islamist groups were quietly established by 2005 in neighboring Somalia, a breakaway Somali province; these were thought to be front organizations for future al-Qaeda activity. Islamic NGOs, meanwhile, suspected of being al-Qaeda recruiting fronts, operated on the Ethiopian and Kenyan borders, and were suspected of supporting ethnic Somali factions in both countries. There were more and more indications that radical Islamic violence in the region would increase in coming years.

But if Somalia has indeed been one of the incubators of terrorism and instability, what is to be done with the country now? The attitudes of its current government are now in other words, in position as that of these are important in Afghanistan and Iraq. A stabilization mission will have to be established to go on an Ethiopian withdrawal and to support the new Islamic Somali government as it rebuilds its security capacity. The Americans, already stretched thin, will not lead it, nor are they inclined to. This leaves either the United Nations, the African Union or some other regional force.

But the prospects for Somalia do not look good. If the Islamicists decide to make a fight of it, it's probable that the world will continue to be preoccupied with low-level terrorist violence plaguing the country for some time. It will be up to the Somali people to determine whether they will tolerate radical Islamist interference, or embrace a new attempt to establish stability and co-existence with the new government and its opposition. As Iraq and Afghanistan have clearly demonstrated, a gradualist approach will be avoided to ensure that Somalia does not collapse. Perhaps it is a time for the United Nations to redeploy the UN after a decade of inaction, and demonstrate that it can fulfill its role. ■



THE GANDA are the equivalent of terrorists, 10 people recently died in attacks in the

WHERE THE DRUG LORDS ARE KINGS

In large parts of Latin America, the cartels are the real power

BY ISRAEL VINCENT • Latin Americans need to pride themselves on the fact that the Islamicist terrorism playing havoc with the security of major urban centers in North America and Europe never really took hold in the Americas. But recent events, they have been held hostage by terrorism of a different sort to urban drug gangs, created by police crackdowns on their activities, have effectively turned some large urban areas into mini war zones.

In the week before Dec. 31, 2006, 99 people died in the city after several buses were targeted in the suburbs and drug gangs lobbed grenades and opened fire with automatic weapons on 12 police stations throughout the city. In one incident, seven passengers were burned to death when gunmen acting on the orders of the drug gangs set their bus alight. And last May, an estimated 200 people died in São Paulo when drug lords belonging to a group called the First Command of the Capital (FGC) issued orders from their prison cells for a wave of violence throughout the city. Urban terrorism proved to be a halt, and many in that city already 21 million people refused to go out after the violence stopped.

Days after the most recent violence in São Paulo, Sérgio Cabral, the newly elected state governor of Rio de Janeiro, called upon the country's president to deploy 7,000-strong national security forces in order to curb drug violence in the country. It was the third

time authorities in Rio had called on the force since it was created in 2004. In fact, during the first week of the New Year, military police with tanks mobilized at some of the most violent favelas, or shantytowns, in the city, which are the domains of some of Latin America's most powerful drug gangs. "This barbarity that happened in Rio de Janeiro can't be treated the common crime," said Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, who took up his second term of office on Jan. 1. "It's terrorism, and must be dealt with by the strong hand of the Brazilian state."

But it's unclear whether the strong hand of any state in Latin America is winning the war. It will be a dollar drug war. In Mexico, one of the first acts of new President Felipe

POLICE on guard in one of Rio's favelas, where two gangs were fighting for control



Colombia was no exception in December this month of troops moving along the Mexican-U.S. border to destroy poppy and marijuana plantations. The also sent troops to police an escalating turf battle between powerful drug cartels near the coast town of Amparo. Over the last two years, the Sinthua cartel, based in the northern Mexican state of the same name, and the Nacua-Landia-based Cali cartel, have been fighting each other to gain control of the cocaine trade in the region. Last year, drug-related violence in Mexico hit more than 1,500 dead.

Despite the threat posed in Mexico, that country's cartels are expanding among the most dangerous in Latin America. They are making a major move into Andean countries, such as Peru, the world's second-largest producer of coca after Colombia. Coca leaves, which are grown by peasant farmers throughout the Andean region, are the raw material in the most expensive of cocaine. Authorities say Mexican cartels are now cutting their own deals directly with coca producers in Bolivia, Peru and even Colombia, where Colombian traffickers used to dominate the massive sale and trade of cocaine in the region. Colombia lost much of its dominance after authorities arrested drug lord Pablo Escobar in 1993. A few years later, Colombian authorities practically wiped out the once-powerful Cali cartel.

In Brazil, which the U.S. State Department has called a major transshipment point for cocaine to Europe and the Middle East, more than 15 tonnes of cocaine were seized by police in 2009, double the amount confiscated in 2004, the last year for which such statistics were available. The country, which has more than 8,500 km border with Bolivia, Peru and Colombia (mostly in the difficult-to-police Amazon region), has become a focal point of operations by both regional and international cartels. The crackdown has been focused on the Amazon as well as the porous border with Paraguay in the south of the country. Last September, police in Paraguay uncovered an arrest of 100 marijuana traffickers and 8,000 cigarettes, which was donated for the PCE in São Paulo. Paraguay is often used as a staging post for planes carrying cocaine from the Andean region to Brazil. A great deal of the cocaine goes through Paraguay to São Paulo and shipped through the nearby port of Santos. In order to crack down on this activity, Brazilian legat

in 2009 granted authorities the right to shoot down small aircraft that refuse to identify themselves.

But emboldened by authorities directed by drug gangs, Latin American countries have their work cut out for them. "Money power is all crime today has drug at the root," says Maria Magaña, a former chief inspector of the Rio government's Drug Regulation Centre. Many of the drug gangs have even created a parallel power structure, ruling urban slums throughout the region. In Brazil, drug-trafficking gangs like to install themselves in the law-enforced areas,

MEXICO'S CARTELS ARE BECOMING POWERFUL—CUTTING THEIR OWN DEALS WITH COCA PRODUCERS



NO ONE really seems to be winning the multi-billion-dollar drug war

after setting up their own series of power for cocaine cartels within the community, in order to keep the police out.

In Rio de Janeiro, turf wars among leaders of the three major drug gangs—the Rio Command, the Third Command and Friends of Friendship—have turned the city into one of the world's most violent. The homicide rate in Rio is around 50 per 100,000 population, compared to eight per 100,000 in New York City and three per 100,000 in London. In Brazil, most of the drug-trafficking gangs have direct links to Colombia's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) guerrillas, who supply the drugs both directly and via Mexico. (Authorities believe that, in Venezuela, President Hugo Chávez trains a blind eye to

trafficking by FARC guerrillas, so of whom were indicted last year by the U.S. on trans-Atlantic charges.)

Last week, the trial of prominent FARC member Nayibe Rios began in Washington, D.C. U.S. prosecutors are hoping to prove that she is responsible for smuggling hundreds of tonnes of cocaine into the United States, and that FARC, which has waged a 40-year insurgency against the Colombian government, has targeted into Colombia's most powerful drug cartel.

In 2001, the capture of Brazilian drug kingpin Lait Fernando da Costa (known by his underworld name, Freddy Seashore) in Colombia revealed strong links between FARC and drug cartels in Brazil, especially his own Rio Command. Imprisoned in Brazil, Freddy Seashore still ran the drug trade in Rio from his prison cell. For drug lords, it is all too easy to reach out from prison. In São Paulo last May, the violence was orchestrated by jailed drug traffickers who used cellphones smuggled into their jail cells to direct the violence.

During that same of brutality, agencies of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency in São Paulo helped capture "Boss" Pablo Bayo Medina, Colombia's most powerful drug trafficker, who had been on the run from Colombian authorities for more than a decade. Authorities said that he owned, as well as more than 500,000 in assets around the world belonging to him and his family.

"What is the violence going to end?" asked one of the residents, Ivan Cardoso, as he prepared to leave his apartment building in Copacabana one recent morning. "If good questions, and one that should be applied to the entire region as authorities try to exert their power over the drug gangs. In most places, though, that will probably mean that scale and control troops in camouflage will be a familiar sight on city streets."

INDIA: STRIPPING GANDHI OF HIS DIGNITY

India's government is shattering an apology from two Hindu priestesses charged for slaying a video of a mass attack at Mahatma Gandhi, raising beautiful women and a shooting in New Delhi. The country's three-decade-old media called the video an "assault to the dignity of the father of the nation." The footage—shot in the U.S. and first aired on YouTube—also showed the actor playing the Hindu advocate of passive resistance holding a knife to somebody's neck.

Mobil Women on the Move

Issue 1 | Winter 2007

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MARTIN NEWLAND

My wife has forbidden me from talking about politics at family meals. It's not that she wants to navigate royal turf or an argument over Israel or the importance to global stability of a strong U.S., she knows the odds because she knows the broad rule: will soon start flying.

My beauty-obsessed U.S. pro brother-in-law has relegated me to the cultural and ideological fringes. The heart of the U.S. and Tony Blair is no longer here in the U.S. that every scenario of the right have found themselves in an unlikely alliance with elements of the hard left. Thus, the Daily Mail in London seems to be in competition with the left-wing Guardian and the BBC to see who can heap the most onerous on the U.S. and Mr. Blair.

It is strange that, as a cosmopolitan, I feel more politically at home with the outgoing Labour Prime Minister than with the somewhat Conservative leader. The latter, David Cameron, finger held aloft to cast the political wind, has made a point of criticizing U.S. foreign policy, and has attacked Mr. Blair for being too "divisive" to Washington's detriment.

The Conservatives took advantage of the language of "proportionality" when speaking of Iraq and to call up their "soft power" credentials. Malcolm Rifkind, a former minister and a bit of a " Tory wit," was dispatched to speak to the media about Iraq as a greater foreign policy disaster than either Vietnam or Iraq. I don't remember any such talk when the party, on new leader included, seemed to invade Iraq in the first place. The Conservatives were fully engaged up to "black and awe" tactics then, so were the British military.

There has always been a streak of anti-Americanism in British conservatism, which probably has something to do with the reputation of British world hegemony by American influence in the last century. Many conservatives now adopt an air of patronizing cooperation when talking about the U.S., as

though Americans were an ill-mannered and rude with more power than sense. This is patently, it is likely that the Conservatives will gain power. They clearly do not realize that the Americans have long memories, and that any new administration of either political hue will expect public rebuff from its English ally across the water, or at the very least, complete disinterest.



Elements of the right and left have allied in their hatred of the U.S. and Tony Blair

For my part, I think Cameron is a good politician. But I simply do not trust him to be an internationalist pragmatist. If I worried Jacques Chirac-style internationalist behavior would move to France, where the quality of life is in any case better than in the U.K. For the first time since I turned 18, I think I will be staying away from the polls the next time around. My country has lost its voice.

The post 9/11 world appears to have fairly rejected what George W. Bush and Tony Blair, for all their blunders, saw as a fundamental truth: we are locked into a cultural and military engagement with reclusive world powers, and that unless we dole out Western principles—the rule of law, democracy, the separation of the judiciary and the executive, the separation of church and state, and a fundamentalist Judeo-Christian system of ethical behavior—we can risk becoming culturally and morally overcome. Already our moral stance has become disavowed. Conservative commentators are writing about

the "cultural and ideological" war in which Muslims sought to meet their death. Disparaging and the media remains obsessed with the invasion of rogue state Iraq, but seems quite relaxed over our handling of the Olympics in China, which suppresses democracy, the flow of information and religious freedoms.

We seem incapable of discerning the difference between theocratic Iran possessing nuclear weapons, and democratic nations possessing them. U.S. politics have entered into the greatest threat to world peace. What about North Korea? What about the fact that the closest the world has come to nuclear exchange was when India and Pakistan threatened to employ nuclear weapons? What about Pakistan specifically, whose "talwar of the bomb," A.Q. Khan, disseminated nuclear know-how to unstable regimes?

When allied to Western interests, U.S. power is a good thing. Instead, we call them Washington's weakness and great over the humiliation of Tony Blair, who, despite his many failings, has proved himself the most effective British leader since Margaret Thatcher.

We appear to welcome the political interests of our Western leaders, and seemingly to place our faith in the hope that myriads of differing and divergent national interests can somehow magically align themselves toward a common purpose should something nasty happen to Western interests, or should the West identify a reason, as it did in Kosovo, to engage in a global policy of global policing.

We do not recognize the puffing of the wings of American global power, backed by the most formidable military machine in history. In our corner, on or off traditionalist countries, as members to rhetoric, engage states such as Pakistan, China and North Korea that the above mentioned "Western principles" will be defended to the last. Until the pundits and the politicians come up with a number formula for the global decline of Western interests and values, I will stick with the Americans. It will mean eating in another room at family dinners, but that's okay by me. ■

HOW TO LOSE YOUR SHIRT IN CHINA

since 2001

Canadians aren't exactly renowned global travelers to begin with, preferring to do the bulk of their business with the U.S., if they leave

Canada at all. Their caution, tracing roots in a deep-seated Chinese culture, where the word for honesty, *lian*, or integrity, translates to be publish or to follow blindly. "We're better off going to Vegas for the work week," says Jim Sharpe, a former federal trade commissioner turned consultant. "You'll lose money just to go and have more fun." The cost may not be prohibitive: The government business cost and business consultants openly wonder whether Canadian companies are out of their minds in China, and not the other way around. "I don't know if they all failed, all except one, and even that ended," Conroy Lerner, a long-time China hand and a director for the Beijing chapter of the Canada China Business Council, tells Canadian companies that it's not to come. "I tell them China is going to eat you out, because you are so green they won't have time to make you," he says with a grin. "Consultants come to get screwed and the Chinese go, 'okay, we'll give you a rat for your money.'"

Quint Thermaltek could have used Lerner's advice, but at the time it seemed like a no-brainer. The company, then known as Altech in Phoenix, had just gone public in 1999 in a non-quietly raised up by the idea of combining its technology with China's cheap labor to manufacture its pellet cookers—translators as glowing ovens used to make dry cupids—which would also sell to the massive and fast-growing market. Chinese government officials made a deal, leaving the firm with ten licenses and a sprawling 40,000 sq. foot facility, complete with landscaping and security guards, in one of Shanghai's emerging new industrial parks. But the company's ambitious plans soon began to unravel.

The joint venture was plagued by technological foul-up almost from the start. Within a year, Altech's government partners pulled out of the money losing venture, leaving the Canadians on the hook for the factory's 50-year lease. They decided to go it alone, even though it took three months of paper work just to transfer money to pay their Chinese workers, and they sought their Chinese general manager running a side business out of the Shanghai facility. They had to hire a Canadian supervisor to keep an eye on the operation, adding to the less quantifiable costs of pervasive bureaucratic corruption. "I don't want to get too much into it," says Ma-

tylson daily, "but the corruption is there."

When became apparent the venture would never be profitable, Altech decided to expand on another line of business, only to be blocked by new environmental laws. Cash strapped, it had no alternative except to sell the facility. But when it came time to find a buyer, the company's owners didn't have actual title to the land. While Altech's original partners, a local within the city of Shanghai, had commercial obligations to fund the deal, the move was blocked by high taxes upon what claimed it was outside the world's perimeter. Caught between competing factions within the Shanghai government, the company had no choice but to return the property to the city for a paltry \$145,000, a fraction of the \$2.2 million it paid for the plant. To get the property out of China, it needed 34 approvals from six different government agencies.

And that's not even the whole story. Altech embarked on a second venture after a Chinese millionaire, living in the U.S., convinced the company he could find a Chinese distributor for one of its tech

up in judicial system. With the country's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001, and much of its business elite Western educated, "it is possible to do good business with high ethical standards," says Howard Bullock, Canada's former ambassador to China and president of Beijing-based investment boutique, the Bullock Group.

Yet for many foreigners, the changes are only skin deep. While the country may have shaken the exterior trappings of the West, a surveillance state pervades the entire country's economy, and "you're chasing one first as long as you don't get caught," says Sen Goodson, a Canadian living in Beijing. "If I had to define China now, it's oppression over substance. Things appear different but the substance isn't there. Anyone who says the people have changed—that's bullshit. This is still the wild, wild West."

Goodson speaks from experience. The former-born former state planner and worker came to Beijing in the mid '90s to study Mandarin. Learning the language wasn't a problem, but he quickly hit the proverbial Great Wall of China when it came to raising his

A BEIJING, MACHINERY (left) and his company's Chinese facility, bought for \$2.2 million and sold for \$145,000.



ALTECH CAUGHT ITS MANAGER RUNNING A SIDE BUSINESS

OUT OF THE SHANGHAI PLANT. WHEN IT TRIED TO SELL, IT FOUND IT DID NOT OWN TITLE TO THE LAND.



The economy beckons, but its business climate makes China a killing field for Canadian firms

BY ANDREA MARCEL CAMPBELL • Right-guy Madylakian can't help chuckling as he recounts his company's disastrous foray into China. It's the didn't laugh, he'd probably cry. His Edmonton-based Quint Thermaltek is now on the brink, and the newly named executive chairman frankly doesn't know if the small, publicly listed firm will survive the full-on from a seven-year odyssey plagued by bureaucratic dissembling, broken promises and corruption. "We are on the verge of collapse because of the failure we had in China," says Madylakian. "It's been a disaster from day one."

Quint has spent the past two years trying to extricate itself from the quagmire, even changing its name and dumping its former management. But it may not be enough. The plant's original firm has lost millions

and its market capitalization, which once hovered in the \$60 million to \$70 million range. And it's been reduced to \$2.9 million by human resources. Like so many Canadian companies in arms who went into China only to be picked off like common soldiers. Quint was lured by a final combination of wide-eyed optimism and a business environment that has made China into a killing field for Canadian firms.

Just about everybody's been burned in China, from General Motors to South Korea's LG Electronics. But market veterans say Canadian firms seem to have a particularly hard time grasping onto the country's no-holds-barred, get-rich-quick mentality. The list of firms, scorched by the financially unscrupulous owner or lured from the Royal Bank of Canada and from ex-Canadian Sun-Rype Products, to a string of junior miners—and might as plain why, despite countless "Hot Canada trade missions, Canadian investors have never seen) into China is long and steep as a penny in billion to date, while the rate of the world has passed its 1980-1990 billion into China.

miles every day. Figuring the only way he could get Western food if he made it himself, Goodson decided to open a restaurant. He knew it wouldn't be easy, but he relished the challenge. Goodson decided to call his new venture "Beijing Brewery: Where Fast Food Was." He had no idea just how true that tag line would turn out to be.

A friend had warned Goodson that his Chinese partner in the deal would screw him over within eight months. It only took four. At 4:30 one morning, he woke to find the partner—the owner of the facility—had taken the business license and changed the books. The partner was supposed to handle all the Chinese government red tape while Goodson managed the business. Instead, "he deliberately hid everything by getting rid of me," says Goodson, who, together with friends, broke into the safe and took everything that wasn't nailed down. The partner released and a newly independent Goodson reopened for business 30 days later.

But that was just the beginning of his troubles. First, the landlord's wife, whom he took off with his six-month rent deposit. Then, after paying a second time and removing the place, he was suddenly informed that the street was closed for demolition. He got stuck in compensation hell, between landlords, roads and lost investments over an instant hit, and in 1999, two years after launching the business, Goodson opened a new kitchen, delivering food throughout downtown Beijing. To finance the \$150,000 expansion, Goodson took on a Chinese investor. "That was my second mistake," he says.

The partner kept demanding to be made majority shareholder, but never secured so

NATURE IS IN CONTRAST TO A CULTURE WHERE THE WORD

The entrepreneur had finally had enough and sold the business, one more victim of the shifty sands and occasional typhoons that characterize the Chinese market. But like many point out, it's not only the Chinese who take advantage of the amorphous rules.

FOR HONEST IS AN INSULT, MEANING 'GULLIBLE'

The brothers were funded during the inaugural Team Canada trade mission in 1994 for their ambitious plans to develop what was eventually named as a US\$500-million eco-tourism housing development on Shanghai's up-and-coming east side. The Shanghai Linko Executive Community was to include a Jack Nicklaus designed golf course, yacht club and 500 American-style homes for the employees of international corporations looking in China. To finance the project, the Hensons, through their Seeland Housing Corp., secured US\$50 million from Bank of

Gordon Lovett's story isn't quite as dog-eared as that of his fellow expatriates, but it helps explain why Chinese leaders, despite promising reform, have very little to show for themselves in China. In 1994, Lovett came up with the idea of selling their juice to a growing market of newly wealthy Chinese. He approached Lonsdale Industries, the manufacturer of Allen's and Longmeyer's juice brands, to buy a second-hand juice machine, and ended up cobbling together a joint venture in which the Quebec company shipped in the equipment and

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originated in Brazil's *barão's* aristocratic, lowly, canoe-banking, and within a month inked a deal with Habitat, a year later, the Brazilian *Chloroceryle* planes were in the air, snatched up by a platoon of Chinese workers.

The Royal Bank of Canada opened its first branch in China last June 1st, marking a cautious return to China of almost a decade after the bank was expelled out of tens of millions of dollars. According to government's financial, the Royal Bank cut and ran in the late 1990s after agreeing to lend money to what it believed was a subsidiary of the Chinese

532 The restaurant first that United Kitchens is set

Alachua is a case in point. The company imported a \$1 million processing machine from Italy that could not be used because it operated using refined sugar from beets when, in China, sugar cane is the standard. It didn't notify anybody that it was planning to import the machine, so the U.S. Commerce Department had to discover the operation, instead relying on a single Chinese complaint.

party who wanted to head business on the coast party's Chinese Canadian employees said he knew someone back in China who spoke English. Although he trusted government bureaucrats who promised they would give the company title to the factory land without fining us whether it was in their power to do so. Nor did it hedge a plan that the currency exchange or trade precautions to make sure it could get its money out of the country. Most fundamentally, it failed to determine whether there was really a market for its products in China. "We were promised all sorts of things and we got carried away and went," says Madhupratap. "We didn't plan for failure." ■

AFTER QUEBEC FIRM LASSONDE'S PULLOUT, 'THE CHINESE THOUGHT THIS IS IMPOSSIBLE. ESPECIALLY FROM CANADIANS,' LAJOIE SAYS.

For most Canadians, however, their greatest sin is one of omission. The Chinese market is a jungle of conflicting regulations and nebulous political machinations, and for

Monrovia Metal Mining (Group) Co. Ltd., a private iron-mining leader. The Canadian bank asked CSMC to guarantee the credit facility, mistakenly believing that, since it was government-owned, the guarantee was equivalent to sovereign risk and therefore backed by the government. The Chinese company obliged, providing a "letter of comfort," which was of little consolation when the loan was drawn down and never repaid. Canada's largest bank should have known better, yet those familiar with the case, but more importantly, its outcome, have not enough guile not to say the same: "To everybody's surprise."



LAST MEETS FIRST The concept for the failed Sammie's deli



THE CURE FOR EVERYTHING

Believers say omega-3s, derived from fish oil, can make you healthier, happier, even smarter. And they'll soon be added to everything from chicken to orange juice—no matter what the skeptics say.

BY JONATHAN GATEHOUSE

The rabbits used to come from Chile, but they didn't work out, so now the fish comes from Argentina. Twice a week, brought to the small Peruvian fishing village for the fall anchovy season, their first stop is the barge, about a kilometer offshore, where the boats set up and have their catches weighed from the holds. By the time all the fish are transported to shore—through a convoluted pipe—the landed catch can see at their assigned post inside the processing plant. Slicing ships, they stand on a conveyor alongside the conveyor belt, helping an eye out for non-koher species—scopas, shillahs etc.—that have been caught up in the nets. It's the last chance to sort things right. Within seconds, the anchovies are in a giant concrete holding bin, being preheated to 15°C, and ground with an auger. A hydraulic screw press separates the bits and pieces, leaving out every last drop of water, and the mucus fluid the rabbits are there to watch over. Fish oil—for decades a waste product, fit only for pig-pen glory cook—is now sold daily the hottest thing on human health.

For use in a food additive two years later. But it's already in yogurt, bread, coffee and codon. This month, it will show up on your market shelves under specially packaged Tropicana orange juice. The process to add the "MEG 1" blend powder to potato chips has already been patented. The day when it will be a "healthy" feature of fast-food meals isn't far off—a couple of more chains are making things over. Entering this the oil has the stamp of kosher purity just makes economic sense. No major manufacturer wants to deal with an additive that isn't acceptable to everyone. So, often, it's regularly inspected and awarded the clearing of Ocean Nutrition's refinery in Margate, N.S., and as plant as Dartmouth and Wisconsin. There's also a hotel production run, for the observant Muslim market.

The health trend that has turned fish plants gathering in grocery-store gold is the explosion of interest in omega-3. Only fish-like salmon, tuna, herring, salmon and anchovies—are among the best sources of the so-called fish-sensible fatty acids. Believers believe

off in their diets. Omega-3s have recently been identified as promising treatments for arthritis, cancer and heart disease, heart disease, mental degeneration, depression, behavioral problems and Alzheimer's disease. And that's just a partial list. The studies just keep on coming. Watching the TV news, or reading the papers, it can often seem like omega-3s are the cure for everything. And if that's what you're inclined to think, a lot of companies are out there just waiting to sell them to you.

Dr. Joseph Hibbeln believes he knows how to make the world an officially happier and take place. For the past 15 years, the psychometrist and physician, who has the public health rank of commander in a researcher with the U.S. National Institutes of Health (NIH), has been studying the links between omega-3s and a wide variety of diseases and mental disorders. Hibbeln is convinced that modern societies, particularly those in the West, are suffering from the pernicious effects of a widespread omega-3 deficiency. Since then, mental rapidly shifting in the early 1960s, most people were first food, mostly made meals, and poultry animals, the intake of eggs, corn and soybeans only—all rich in a different type of fatty acid, omega-6—has soared. (In 1995, per capita American consumption of soybean oil was less than 10g a year. Today, it's 11.5 kg, and nearly 20 per cent of all calories.) Consequently, the ratio of omega-3 and omega-6 in our bodies and the chemical balance of our brains has changed. A shortage of omega-3 may inhibit the synthesis of things like hormones, neurotransmitters and serotonin, which control cell walls, and affect levels of serotonin, a key mood-determining chemical. The result, says Hibbeln, is more violence, murder, suicide, depression and illness.

Starting in 1996, with a paper published in *The Lancet*, the NIH researcher and his colleagues began comparing diets and health outcomes around the world. Countries with the highest levels of fish consumption—Japan, Taiwan and Korea—had the lowest levels of depression. Men in Hampshire, Dorset and Aotearoa, among the world's smallest consumers of seafood, had the highest rates of suicide. Crunching World Health Organization



OFF BAJA, CALP, fishing for cod, an oily remedy for bad knees and breast cancer

Gross Nutrition Canada, the world's largest producer of the rich substance, has only been in business for 10 years. The technology that allows the Dartmouth, N.S.-based company to convert the fish byproduct and convert anchovy juice into a flowable cod-liver powder, was developed in 1992, and noted six

known about the crucial role that omega-3s play in brain and retina development since the 1970s. (The popular notion of fish as "brain food" dates back a couple of miles too.) But it's the seemingly unrelated series of research papers pointing the health benefits that have convinced clinicians for more

tion data from 55 different countries, they charted the growth of omega-6 consumption against rising homicide rates—the more we eat, the more we kill, was their conclusion.

Last June, in a paper published in the *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, Hibbeln said his co-authors went a step further, looking at world diets and estimating the overall percentage of 21 different types of diseases and deaths that are due to omega 3 "deficiencies." These findings were even more extraordinary. They attributed 20 per cent of all male mortality, and 11 per cent of female deaths, to a shortage of the fatty acids. The paper looks 38.4 per cent of heart disease, and 27 per cent of cardiovascular disease to diet, as well as 46.5 per cent of postpartum depression, 59.9 per cent of major depression, and 96 per cent of bipolar disorders.

So much for the more traditional vitamins—poverty, drugs and alcohol, the damage done of the family, even Hollywood—normally held responsible for our poor health and mental life. Of course, it's impossible to actually prove that the change in our diet is the sole explanation for our worsening behaviour, and ultimately, disaster. But Hibbeln believes it's the primary one, the entire answer. Hibbeln's co-authors used through the decades apart to construct, he argues, "increasing omega 3 fatty acids reduce violence and aggression." Like scary or night, which all but disappeared when people started eating more vitamins C and D, a simple change in diet—more seafood or omega 3 triglycerides—could fix the whole host of it, he says.

Professors, steeped in the growing gospel of omega-3, are not hard to find. But Hibbeln is science from his teeth. Still, among the more than 8,000 published studies on the effects of the fatty acids, there is a tiny, but significant, body of dissenting opinion. In the last year, two meta-analyses—gold standard reviews that assess and weight the various contributions to a scientific literature—have thrown some of the enthusiasm. The first, published in *The Journal of the American Medical Association* last January, found that eating a diet so low as to actually reduce the risk of cancer. Animal studies that suggested the fatty acid intake based on growth were poorly designed, the reviewers said. And after peering over 40 years' worth of literature, involving more than 700,000 peo-



Countries that eat a lot of fish have lower rates

of depression, research shows

ple, the researchers declared a draw. While studies suggested there were "significant associations" between omega-3s and heart, skin, lung, prostate and colorectal cancer, the findings on both ways—some said the fatty acids reduced the risk, others found they increased it.

Last March, the British *Medical Journal* published a comprehensive review of all data on omega 3 and the prevention of heart disease—long considered a source of heart disease and cancer. Dr. Lee Hooper from the University of East Anglia and her team looked at 85 research projects—41 randomized controlled trials, and 44 cohort studies—and concluded that there is no clear evidence that the fish offer any protection from the various ailments. In fact, another contradiction of the prevailing wisdom, they concluded that men with angina may be at higher risk of heart attack and death if they consumed as much as omega-3-rich fish. Hooper says the response to her findings has been "angry." But scientists have a responsibility not to get caught up in the hype, she says. "Omega 3 may be useful in many conditions, but in actually may be useful, or even harmful in some others."

A large part of the problem with the emerging research is who the scientists have been studying. "The people who are taking omega-3 as a diet, they have better health care, they're eating better," says Hooper. "If they were more likely to take physical activity, they were less likely to smoke, they had better social support. Everything was in their favour, really."

Health Canada has generally been agnostic on the issue of omega 3. It labels the fatty acids as "essential" part of a balanced diet,

PROCESSED OMEGA-3: Health Canada advises caution about over-consumption

but cautions consumers to not eat too much of over consumption. Excessive intake of omega-3 fatty acids (EPA) and docosahexaenoic acid (DHA), the long chain omega-3 found in oily fish, which act as natural anti-inflammatories, has been linked to increased risk of hemorrhagic stroke and clotting problems, as well as suppressed immune functions, says the federal body.

Renee Frieside, an associate professor of nutritional immunology at the University of Missouri, is another cautious scientist. He found that mice on a high fish oil diet were more susceptible to infection by *Listeria* bacteria, a common source of food poisoning. His findings may not have wide application—the mice had no prior exposure to the bacteria, he notes, and he is relatively healthy and build up a natural resistance that could well be something to people with compromised immune systems. AIDS or chemotherapy patients, transplant recipients, newborns or the very old. The mouse studies, even though *Listeria* kills 100 per cent in the United States every year, no one seems to be interested in following up Frieside's research. "I think there are plenty of good reasons to increase our omega 3 intake," says the Missouri prof. "But I've not applied to get funding to look at this stuff. No one wants to be the one with the bad news, I guess."

The pink-skinned Eskimos were eating what in the commercial—playing the piano, looking around a soccer field, even sitting on the toilet. Child noon with white light up and baby moonlight, carefully selected for their heart-healthy contents and ability to convey simple message: this product will make your



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lids smarter. The actual packaging for Dora (a, an orange) fortified children's yogurt made by Danone is slightly more concerned—a nerdy, glasses-wearing cartoon dinosaur surrounded by school books, with small print blarney about DNA, an active ingredient in orange 5, supporting the “normal” development of the brain, eyes and nerves.” But a TV spot was placed for subway Honor the all’s right: “Test your little genius to taste.” (The commercial is trading on a series of small, but intensely publicized fish trials with U.K. school children that purported to show improvements in their behavior, powers of concentration and cognitive abilities. Critics—who note that none of the trials were conducted with “normal” mainstream children—regard the evidence as sketchy at best.)

The yogurt makes its not-always-shilling health benefits—real or perceived (“Great Taste” or “New and Improved”) no longer outside on the grocery store shelves, the formal way to grab consumer attention now is to get right to our better selves. The made callous

grocery store “natural” remedies. “There are more people in North America who regularly attend alternative health care practitioners—acupuncturists, massage therapists—than go to their GPs,” notes Orr.

Ocean Nutrition (a privately held company whose major shareholder is Clearwater Fish Foods Inc.) is one of the companies riding that wave. In 2006, 15 different types of products containing its MEG-1 fish oil concentrate made it to worldwide grocery shelves, including frozen pizzas, yogurt drinks and tortillas. One day, Orr is offering visitors samples of President’s Choice On Maple (an orange juice). (There’s no hint of sea life on the taste, just—as the old slogan goes—“not shiny.”) But all those products are just the start of a very long wrangle, if industry predictions are to be believed.

Frank Sallavento, an environmental consultant

Getting past the yucky factor of having liquified sardines in your juice is one challenge



OCEAN NUTRITION'S latest work made into 18 different grocery-store products in 2006

“superfoods” like fish, high fiber, lower cholesterol, good for the heart, especially grows, but mostly fish in previous. And orange is now become the hottest part of that “functional food” market. Sales are growing 300 per cent per year, according to AC Nielsen. In the past year alone, food manufacturers have introduced dozens of new omega-rich products, ranging from breakfast cereals to chocolate bars.

Like so many other things, it’s a home-driven trend, say, makers of Oreos, and CEO of Ocean Nutrition David Boring. Boring has this idea, the Mr. Cleanman new home foods that will help them live a longer and more healthy life—and all the better if they’ve

ing firm, pegged the value of the global omega-3 retail market (for both supplements and enriched foods) at more than US\$700 million in 2005. Soon it will be increased in billions. The first assurance that demand for omega additives will almost double in the U.S. by 2011, with food manufacturers buying \$514 million worth of fatty acids each year. Orr is even more bullish. Most of the fish oil Ocean Nutrition produces now is sold as supplements, but he believes he can make MEG-1 the core of its business over the next half decade, with sales in the \$300 million to \$500 million range—a 10- to 20-fold jump. A PowerPoint presentation for his potential clients pitches some seductive woo. Why

sell regular old fish oil when, with the magic of fish oil, you could transform your product into a “Nutrition Delivery Vehicle”? Well, not from the medicine cabinet, but the refrigerator. “But consumers are the real target these days. Ocean Nutrition has ambitions of becoming a market leader, with a product that people ask for by name. Think Kleenex and tissues. The company spent eight expensive months coming up with a brand and logo that it hopes will become synonymous with healthy fatty acids—MEG-1, and a happy, fishy, blue cartoon fish “Meg” as she is known, has a wide smile and a heart-shaped tail. Initially, she looked more like a cartoon marmoset, but focus groups steered the company toward the jelly-fishy end of the spectrum.” They said that she made them smile,” says Lori Gower, Ocean Nutrition’s vice-presidential marketing. “And when you smile up with a brand that can make people smile, you know you’ve got a winner.”

But Meg will have her own whining, with interactive games for the kids, and televisions where the riffs in a Chair like the Tim. Gower is envisioning a young, sexy, something female voice for her creation, but with a whole new vibe, since Hilary Duff (sheer beauty) is a teenager may drive trends, but every marketer knows that kids want them. Grocery store managers routinely like “functional foods,” especially for their children. And it isn’t hard to spell them on omega-3 as a familiar additive to most since 10 per cent of all the infant formula sold in North America is already fortified with the fatty acid.

One of Ocean Nutrition’s biggest challenges has been getting consumers past the yucky factor of having liquified sardines and anchovies in their yogurt or orange juice. In the end, they’ve decided to accentuate the health benefits and tuck the flavor from head on. “All the goodness of fish, without the taste,” is the oft-repeated MEG-1 mantra.

When made as a solid oil, and small, like cod liver oil, has been an Omega-scale headache for the fledgling omega-3 industry. Simply put, when fish oil is exposed to air it begins to oxidize, in molecular burning doses. Add it, in its natural form, to a carton of OJ and by the time you break the seal, it will smell like a hot summer’s day in the desert. Ocean Nutrition, which employs six research scientists, spent millions looking for a permanent taste solution. In 2002, its R&D chief Colin Barrow and his team came up with a patented new encapsulation technique where microscopic oil droplets are coated with a thin gelatin shell. Dozens of the particles are then carefully agglomerated to a



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HEALTH



MILK AND EGGS enriched with omega-3 are widely available. The latest product? Pork.

larger handle, protected by an even thicker plastic shell. The end result is a powder as fine as flour, with the fishy flavour kicked away, and a shelf life of months, not hours.

Building a better mousetrap is no guarantee of success in the deeply conservative food business, however. Manufacturers have seen the danger of too much tinkering with a trusted brand (New Coke) and were understandably leery of adding untested to their ingredients list, whenever the purported benefits of omega-3. As a result, Ocean Nutrition has had to go to some extraordinary lengths to convince big name customers to sign on. Inside its shiny Dartmouth lab, along with the olive-oil-enriched omega-3 capsules with zinc powder so that formula can be absorbed far over the furthest whiff of the deep, there's always the kitchen equipped with toasters, microwaves and five bread makers. Much of the company's R&D budget these days goes into figuring out how to add MEG-3 into pre-existing products—perfecting the amounts, raising and temperature adjustments for mass quantity recipes. Marston and Co., a California food research company, is an example: it helped with the richer problems. It's proof in the pudding sales. When Ocean Nutrition were courting Muller, the U.K.'s biggest yoghurt manufacturer, for example, Robert Orr arrived with samples of popcorn, enriched with his fish oil powder, in hand for the firm meeting.

The company appears to be meeting. Ocean Nutrition is building a big new plant next to an Dartmouth affiliate, which will allow it to double its manufacturing capacity. It's still slow going—it takes 24 to 26 months to get a product onto store shelves. But Marston and his team are already busy working on the next great challenge—adding the powder to olive beverages like pop and sports drinks. It's a leap from eggs to pasta encapsulation—for the blending in work, the particles of fish oil will need to be 1,000 times smaller than the current technology permits.

And while fish oil may be among the best sources of fatty acids, it's hardly the only one. The substance is found in many green plants,

nammed grains, as well as algae, and if you feed animals omega-3 rich diets, their bodies build up deposits of the fatty acid. Consequently, companies for this particular healthy food niche are moving from algal sources. Omega-3 enriched eggs have been on store shelves for a decade, and now account for close to 10 per cent of the Canadian market. There's an omega-3 milk, and a Marston hog producer recently unveiled its own brand of omega-3-rich pork. Steven Lessner, the University of Guelph professor of animal nutrition who developed the eggs, has been working on

omega-3 poultry. It's been a promising prospect to find the right mix—too much of the fishy acid and people start tasting fish. "There's a very delicate balance between adding enough to give you meaningful enrichment and not adding so much that the consumer will complain about it," says Lessner. "North American are used to bland tasting meat and eggs. And the difficulty with the food business is that if everyone's person in 100 doesn't like the flavour, that's a major problem."

Fish oil's major competition these days comes from the flav and carotene industry. The ally plants are rich in alpha linolenic acid (ALA), which chain omega-3 that the human body can convert (though not evenly efficiently) into EPA and DHA, the most complex fatty acids associated with more of the supposed health benefits. Fish oil is naturally rich in these two acids, hence the argument that it's a better dietary source of omega-3. But that kind of discussion is lost on the average consumer. And the flav and carotene growers have been marketing their product just as aggressively as the fish oil producers. In the baking business, for example, a "good seal"—as one industry publication dubbed it—has been raging between the plant and fish

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people (Italians, still recovering from the Atkins diet craze, are desperate to make bread healthy again.) Ask Robert Orr about it and he'll grin. "It's ridiculous. They're trying to promote their health benefits largely on borrowed science."

As particular issue is the way that Health Canada treats the different sources of omega-3. There's a government-recommended daily intake of ALA—140 mg for adult males, 110 mg for females—but none for EPA and DHA. And while products containing up to 100 mg of ALA can label themselves

"a source of omega-3 fatty

acids, the company is reaching out to family doctors to educate them about the benefits of omega-3, and hopes to see a accredited study coming with the provincial colleges of physicians. Right now, there are 10 different clinical studies underway for everything from cardiovascular disease to schizophrenia, using cod

One scientist found no clear evidence omega-3 helps. The response? 'Angry.'



ALONG WITH the latest "healthy" fares come clinical trials, 30 of them now under way

acids," fish-oil producers have been trying unsuccessfully for three years to get the same designation. Their list of complaints of discrimination goes on. In the U.S., the main reason allowable sources of EPA and DHA is 300 mg per serving, in Canada it's 500 mg. "If we had the kind of liability and marketing budgets that the fish-and-oil people have, the problem would have been solved a long time ago," says Orr.

Health Canada says its caution about EPA and DHA is well founded, pointing to the evidence of risks along with the health benefits. The government says it's up to the Institute of Medicine of the U.S. National Academies, which recommends daily intake for all of North America, to pronounce on how much of the fishy omega-3 should be in our diet. (The U.S. Food and Drug Administration, which publishes food additives, says its dietary design is up to three grams per day of omega-3 fatty acids from marine sources are "Generally Recognized as Safe.") It seems reasonable to let more accredited EPA/DHA products at risk a day.

Either way, no one in the federal government seems to be trying to stem the tide of omega-3 products now washing over grocery-store shelves. And Ottawa Nutrition has its own, more direct, lobbying plans in the pipeline.

They suggest fish oil. At the rate things are going, by the time anyone in Ottawa gets around to taking a hard look at the claims of "miracle" cures, it will be so far down the coffee

There is a certain irony in the fact that the claims of the codfish, most advanced, and plentiful source the world has ever known, seem to their vast buyers as right and constant frozen peas. The choice of foods available at the local supermarket is staggering—from vegetables and more than even in the days of yore—and still we choose to eat crap. If everyone followed the expert advice and ate a balanced diet there would be no need for any vitamins, or enriched or fortified foods. But come on, the idea of a single ball of fish is such a nice appealing

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimate that nearly 50 per cent of Americans take supplements regularly—\$1.5 billion a year. It's a lot more than spent on the growing list of "functional" foods category. And most of the people who care enough about their health to buy multivitamins or high blood counts don't actually need them. Still, the thinking goes, if it's good for you, what's the harm?

Robert Orr and the people who work for him are true believers. The CBO takes three large capsules of 50 per cent concentrated fish oil every day, and regularly eats "super foods" produced by the customers. Burrage, his chief of research, starts his morning regimen with 500 mg of omega-3 powder in his morning yogurt—four grams a day. It's a health-conscious corporate culture. Orr admits that there has been some internal debate about the propriety of adding omega-3 to pork feed, but the reality is that most North Americans aren't going to start eating the recommended amount of oily fish—no matter how good it might be for them.

"Consumers want they want more nutrition, but what they really want is to eat the same food, at the same price, with the same taste," says Orr. "You have to meet people where their needs are."

But the question of whether the general public should be camping up their omega-3 intake is still a matter of scientific debate. Dr. David Jenkins, who holds a Canada Research Chair in nutrition and is affiliated with the University of Toronto's Faculty of Medicine, remains skeptical. "Initially we thought they were going to be the answer, but now we're not so sure," he says. The growing body of contradictory research on the effects of omega-3 has just been worried about potential dangers, especially in those with underlying heart ailments. "I don't think we're in a position to be giving advice. We're in a position to doing a lot more research," Jenkins, a vegetarian since he was 17, says his omega-3 comes from plant sources, and believes everyone else should too. The latest proposals of fish oil have confused passion for science, he says.

Dr. Joseph Hibbeln of the NIH speaks out as convincingly of the endless benefits of fish oil. "I feel like I've been harassed with many e-mails from people over the past 15 years," he says. "Every time I ask a question, I turn the page over and there's the answer." Omega-3, Hibbeln has been running clinical trials with violent criminals in the Washington, D.C., area, feeding them fish oil. Initial results suggest their levels of anger and irritability have fallen by a third. This past month, he donated a grant to "Nutritionism" on an annual basis. It's a nutritionism challenge in that it will help fund their nutrition community, he says. And the wider world needs to hear the same message. "We have information that can significantly reduce the distress of large numbers of people and potentially reduce the risk of homicide, suicide and violence," says Hibbeln. "It's a mission."

It would be nice to have a carrier for everything. And here's still to be the one selling it. ■ jonathan.gardner@med.utoronto.utoronto.ca

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THE 27-YEAR ITCH



Wagner has replaced Grindl as a serious pick-me-up of choice. "Stacy is the new Stacy" (a one-sided "the new therapy"). Gail Sheehy's *Men and the Woman* (1991) is a landmark in the post-Grindl era to embrace "postmarital adolescence." So there should be little surprise that the latest marital trend is divorce among those over 50, dubbed "grey divorce," a label itself meaning a youthful malaise.

Twenty-seven, 37, even 47-year-olds have long been popular among the rich. Victoria Beckham's divorce at age 39 after 25 years of marriage, aristocrat and philanthropist George Soros divorced at age 34 after 21 years. Sir Anthony Hopkins called it quits at 64 after 29 years. All found new mates. Now the divorce is following suit, according to the first book in the topic, *Divorce: Star's Calling* by Quin Lane-Lyle. *Divorce: Star's Calling* is to be published next week. (See the Maclean's interview, page 14.)

In Canada, the only age group that is seeing a rise in divorce is people over 50. The overall divorce rate, which hovers at 36 per

cent, declined 25 per cent between 1991 and 2005, the latest year for which statistics are available. But it rose 14 per cent for those 50 and over, 47 per cent for those 55 to 59, 31.7 per cent for those 60 to 64, and 9.1 per cent for those 65 and older. That isn't to say a "Happy Divorce, Grandma!" greeting isn't common. Traditionally low rates of divorce among those over 50 give very interesting insight into the larger couple stays together, the greater the odds that they will. But even in the absolute terms of "incidence of divorce per 1,000 population," a solid-to-outright divorce is evident for both men and women aged 50 to 65, men included up by a percentage or so between 1991 and 2005 in all age groups. That may seem minuscule, but it's demographic shifts and to be gained, says Leslie Gelles, a senior analyst at Statistics Canada.

A similar pattern exists in international U.S. census figures show the divorce rate among those over 65 has doubled since 1980, it goes to eight per cent in 2004 from 6.7 per cent in 2000. Manhattan lawyer Peter Bernick has joked that his working wives can resemble a "geriatric unit." Bernick says

late-in-life divorce, which he defines as over 60, was rare when he started practicing family law in 1999. Now it's increasingly common, though it constitutes a small portion of his business. In 2005, he represented a 65-year-old man divorcing his wife of 38 years who was in her late 70s.

Britain's *Daily Mail* has dubbed this grey divorce as an "epidemic" in the U.K. In Italy, the number of people aged 50 or over filing for legal separation rose by 3.5 per cent and those seeking divorce increased by three per cent between 2000 and 2004. Even France, known for its *à la carte* divorce, saw a rise in divorce among older couples. No country has been more galvanized by late-life divorce, however, than Japan. The number of divorces among couples married for 30 years or more hit 42,000 in 2004, double those recorded in 1980. Divorces among those married for more than 30 years quadrupled during the same period. The phenomenon of "adults re-invented" (a term coined by Japanese women's frustration with their rarely married husbands, nicknamed "wet-lives" for their propensity to die). The divorce rate

in popular culture: Why are Second Husband Sucka Nuts? In a bestseller, and the popular television drama *Desperate Housewives*, a woman who dumps her husband after he betrays her. The essence of a late-life divorce is allowing a Japanese woman to claim half of her husband's investment in an expected to unleash a divorce rate that is

Grey divorce is no new trend that that's barely any research, says David Popenoe, co-founder and director of Rutgers University's National Marriage Project. The most extensive survey to date is "The Divorce Experiment: A Study of Divorce in Middle and Beyond."

was inevitable. The academic Stephanie Coontz, author of *Marriage, A History*, has said matrimony changed more in the last three decades than it did in the preceding 3,000 years—from a dependent partnership based on the exchange of labor to an ostensibly equal union expected to provide personal fulfillment, a belief Toronto lawyer Stephen Grynka calls "one of the greatest myths of the 20th century." Over the second half of the century, marriage became the arena in which the value placed on individual freedom, an acronym, over, on the grounds that persons acquired off against the idea of com-

pany and to delay child-rearing figures in the grey divorce phenomenon. What doesn't call the typical age of divorce "bell curve"—low in the 20s, rising in the 30s, peaking in the 40s then dropping—in being pushed back. The "lumpy non-symmetry," a common point of marital breakdown, is occurring at a later age. Family law practitioners used to tell the job about an 85-year-old couple explaining their decision to divorce with, "We were waiting for the children to die." Now that kids have moved for decades, the possibility is "We were waiting for the children to leave." "The marriage gets neglected in child-rear-



The only age group in which divorce is on the rise is people over 50. Couples used to stick it out. Not anymore. Enough is enough.

BY ANNE KINGSTON PHOTOGRAPHS BY MACKENZIE STROH

published by the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) in May 2004, based on questionnaires given to 1,147 men and women aged 60 to 79. It grabbed headlines with its finding that 66 per cent of women initiated divorce, often blinding the husbands. Many spoke of reaching a breaking point, after which they could no longer endure alcohol and drug addictions, physical or emotional abuse or infidelity. Men who left were more likely to say they had met someone than were looking for "greater meaning." When describing their decision to divorce, both men and women used the words "freedom," "identity" and a need for "child-free." Three in four surveyed said they believed divorce was the right decision, despite expecting for her husband and more so. Given the shifting attitudes toward both marriage and aging, a trend to grey divorce

movement, building communities and stable families. Even within marriage, the desire for independence is evident in new technology such as "living apart together," as de rigeur in the upcoming *How Together: How Marriage in America is Changing* by four Penn State University sociology professors. Divorce lawyer Lisa Mackenzie speaks of the current focus on "self identity" as a determinant in divorce. "Most people see understanding that if the marriage is subsiding or suppressing their individuality they have to get out of it." Most of this change applies to women, he says. "There are many more professional women who can financially independent and who one day wake up and find the coffee." Divorce lawyer's subjects speak in similar terms. Over women who divorced after 20 years compared to those who had been married for 20 years.

Marital trends such as the tendency toward aging and there's no way back," says Toronto psychotherapist Cooke Rivett. She quotes a woman in New Zealand the day after her children left home: she looked at her husband and thought, "I don't want to be here, I don't need you, and I really don't like you." As with all demographic trends, grey divorce is propelled by broader cultural shifts: the first wave—for whom "verticality" as prime is turning 60 and being a retiree, promoting how to reach as Mary Louise Floyd's *Retired with Husbands' Supremacy* in *New Challenges*. The transition from hard work to just work often takes a marriage," says Bernick, noting shocking intergenerational gaps: "A 50-year-old and 50-year-old are retiring and they have no idea how to live as a couple in a younger model." Younger adults are being helped when a couple is thrown into 24/7 contact or

one partner remains in the workforce. "It's a huge issue for men who think their identity is their career," says Tenen.

Therapist dyercent has also been trained by the fact that people live longer, healthier lives. "Elderhood doesn't follow a new pattern when female life expectancy in Canada is almost 83 years and men are expected to live to nearly 78. I don't think we've attended biologically to all of these changes by such a long time with one person," says Grant. "It was fine when you married at 16 and were divorced by 30." Over decades, researchers are seeing if chronic diseases such as alcohol

abuse and chronic diseases couple's unwillingness to live out their final years expressed in more willingness or mutual desire reflect around longevity to accept the reality of many long-term relationships. "An former days people would stick it out," he says. "Now divorce is more acceptable alternative." Indeed, divorce is viewed as a new beginning, reflected in the fact that January, a month filled by New Year's resolutions for self-improvement, is also the peak month for initiating divorce. A woman in her late 60s who led a 24-year marriage reports the divorce "It's better, it was assumed that in a bad relationship, no

to what extent the impact in post-divorce reflects the cumulative effect of the divorce resolution working as they through to the older population, just as the social revolution did. Children returning to the family home after their own divorces, for instance, can place strains on already strained marriages. Divorces are more when children and stepchildren from previous marriages cross conflict over their share of the inheritance.

"There's always an increased need for generation or next one or three generations either on comparing the results in divorce to the results of death," says Benetich.

A NEW KIND OF SENIOR MOMENT

A generation that came of age in the '60s is taking drug addiction into its golden years

BY MARIE GEORGE • In his memoir *Dreams From My Father*, originally published about 12 years ago, Barack Obama confessed to having experienced with hard drugs, including cocaine, in his belated youth. In light of the 47-year-old U.S. senator's lively presidential bid, this revelation was not exactly dented off by the media for renewed scrutiny, but was met by the public with a yawn of indifference. The fact is, every second baby boomer in our midst has experienced with some type of illicit drug in his lifetime. Bill Clinton's 1992 admission to having smoked marijuana (but not "inhaling") is so shocking that, now just serves to remind



THE FASTEST-GROWING group of users in the U.S. is white and middle-aged

us how much we've grown up in a decade. Still, we may not quite be prepared for the long-term effects of a cocaine era that has spread out, as thousands of boomers lag their dependencies into their 50s and 60s. New studies reveal that the fastest-growing demographic of drug users in the U.S. is white, middle-aged, and well into the 2000s. National Survey on Drug Use and Health, released in the fall, found that drug use among Americans in their 50s is up by 65 per cent since 2000. More than 4 per cent of Americans in their 50s are now on addiction drugs such as marijuana, cocaine, heroin or crack in the past month, up from 2.7 per cent in 2002. Among adults in their 40s and 50s, deaths from illicit drug overdoses are up by 100 per cent since 1996. In a surprising twist, the study reports that substance use among teens declined by 15 per cent between 2002 and 2005. "It's unknown," he says.

Like a talk of two generations and their perceptions on drug use, says Tom Kelly, spokesman for the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy.

Obama's memoirs are a stark contrast to the 1960s, when drug use was mostly associated with the counterculture. "I don't want to go to go to the gateway drug hypothesis," says Kelly, "but almost everybody who becomes a habitual user of cocaine, heroin or crack in the past month, up from 2.7 per cent in 2002. Among adults in their 40s and 50s, deaths from illicit drug overdoses are up by 100 per cent since 1996. In a surprising twist, the study reports that substance use among teens declined by 15 per cent between 2002 and 2005. "It's unknown," he says.

Like a talk of two generations and their perceptions on drug use, says Tom Kelly, spokesman for the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy.

stance as they become formidable.

From an epidemiological point of view, says Berger, the percentage of older adults battling addiction has not changed. What is changing, he says, is the sheer size of the cohort and the nature of the drugs. "Whereas 20 years ago people in their 60s would've been fighting alcohol or prescription medications," he says, "the drugs of choice among today's 50- and 60-year-olds are harder,

more potent. A generation ago, they had never been exposed to this kind of stuff."

The number of boomers using is probably even higher than we suspect, experts say, since they are more likely than younger users to go undiagnosed. By middle age, many have been managing their addictions for so long, they appear normal and fully functional to those around them. "But to you, get older, it's harder to hold it together," says Berger. "Some, or later something bad. You get in a traffic accident. You get fired from your job. Your spouse who's going to leave you. It's usually some sort of crisis that for the first time sheds light on the problem."

Now that the cracks are

beginning to show, we could be facing a new public health crisis. Older substance abusers pose special treatment concerns that many institutions are not fully trained or equipped to deal with. "Older patients" will come in and use drugs. They have been medically advised to become more physically active. They have been trying to provide care for problems caused by drug use but no one was hesitant about it," says Berger. "The physicians are still trying to meet them the gap between disorder or certain regulatory difficulties, for instance."

In the next five years, as the boomers pass the 65 mark, analysts expect the face of drug addiction to look dramatically less like Michael Jackson and more like Gary Busby. "There's a lot of busbys out there with drug abuse problems," says Kelly. "That's where the programing through the pyroton will be."

The day after their children left home, a woman looked at her husband and thought, 'I don't want to be here, I don't need you and I really don't like you'

um become more pronounced. A Toronto man says she and her siblings encouraged their 70-year-old mother to leave their father in 1988 after 40 years of marriage when deteriorating mental illness made him abusive. She said, and lived alone happily for 15 years before her death.

Later life is now seen as the "Third Age," a term coined by Margaret Drabble in *The Seven Sisters*, a novel about a woman who rediscovers herself post-divorce. Trained in the vibrant imagery of a *Pendleton* in *Colby*, it is the latest in a series of novels and social issues. "Thirty years ago, the notion that people would be usually seen and their lives discussed," says gerontologist John Cavanaugh, president of the University of West Florida and author of *Adult Development and Aging*. "The message was that you weren't too young to start over. Now people want to stay young, and if that's a requirement then a more inflexible relationship helps."

menter what age you are."

What constitutes a "third" marriage, however, is subjective. One in four respondents in the AARP survey and there were no major problems, they had simply fallen out of love or believed greater satisfaction beyond their father told to many who had felt comfortable marriages because they couldn't "go on living the same old life in the same old rut with the same old loving person." The divorce doesn't always offer a promise. Almost 30 per cent in the AARP survey spoke of loneliness and depression, almost half expressed fear of being alone, 38 per cent of women feared financial destitution. And for all of the better given to give to his kids, 38 per cent reported having no future in their own right, the vast majority being single women. What has life-divorce studies led to reveal is whether the breakup occurs in a first or subsequent marriage, the latter being more vulnerable to breakdown. That's not a dis-

It remains to be seen whether the Golden Period, that move in which children, devoted lifelong partners spend their last days together, will become a quarter period post-Grandpa. In one, a family law center can be founded in Chicago last year, it was posted their marriage will be the norm 10 years hence. "We'll have a starter marriage. You'll have a marriage to raise the children. You'll have a third marriage for companionship," says the Chicago-based lawyer. Popcorn believes the most likely scenario will be a first marriage followed by multiple cohabitations. "As marriage goes out of fashion, the tendency is not to marry but to live together," he says, noting remarriage is often complicated by finances and children from previous marriages to couples get older. But, he herself divorced after 45 years, interviewed an elderly man who left a 58-year marriage and was about to embark on his third. He told her he was seeking "his liberty and the pursuit of happiness." "It's about the ability to start life over again, as if they were experimentally, turn 'the end of adjustment and a certain kind of failure and loss into the beginning of a new and successful endeavor,' he can always hope."

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARGARET STREIB

GETTY IMAGES



JAPAN: A TOUGH TEST TO CRAM FOR

It is an effort to understand the growing Western influx of visitors and, as a result, applicants to Japan's prestigious universities. High schoolers are required to pass a rigorous entrance examination. Prospective students must display their proficiency by passing multiple tests and then one day to another using the traditional methods. The 100-year-old school also offers classes in Japanese and the Japanese language.

‘[I] THOUGHT SINGLE WOMEN HAD COME FURTHER THAN THAT’—SECRETARY OF STATE CONDOLEEZZA RICE, AFTER BEING TOLD SHE DOESN’T HAVE STAKE IN THE WAR BECAUSE SHE’S A SINGLE WOMAN

CONDOLEEZZA RICE GETTING HIT BELOW THE WAIST*

When Condoleezza Rice flirts with a foreign dignitary, the media writers about her sex appeal and single status. But last week, Democratic Sen. Barbara Boxer took aim at the secretary of state's unmarried status during a congressional hearing about Bush's new Iraq policy. "You're not going to pay a particular price with an immediate family," Rush Limbaugh accused the senator of having "below the waist." Rice said she "thought single women had come further than that." But the strident continued. During a TV interview, *Donald Trump* go on record: Rice's "a little stiff, a little stiff," says she "goes on a plane, she gets off a plane, she waves, she goes the 10 to 15 to see some dictator. They tell her, the ladies, the waves, the plane stuff, all that happens. I think she's a very nice woman, but I don't want a nice woman."



EVAN ROCHÉ NOW ALL HE NEEDS IS A DRIVER'S LICENSE

Vancouver's Dan Roche—part 14—became the youngest contestant in the Michelin Challenge Design Competition, held last week at the North American International Auto Show in Detroit. Roche started his highly futuristic Giedo Safety Coupe, which transports electromagnetic energy to the interior, in a bid to help reduce whiplash. It was described by a jury member as "one of the most impressive ideas" in the competition.

The Grade 9 student, who completed his senior year at 13, says his auto design training dates back to when he was 2. Says Roche: "I was always drawing cars, pointing them out on the street, and speaking out on my way, moving them around by Grade 4. He was designing his own." "It clicked," says Roche, who, along with 31 other winners, made his design at the car show. "I'd always loved art and cars, so I combined my love of the two."

WEN JIABAO CHINA BEGINS LOWERING THE WALL

Soon after China's Premier Wen Jiabao arrived at the East Asian economic summit in the Philippines last week to great fanfare (he'll be in Manila for two weeks), he was welcomed by a crowd of Chinese and his wife, he went right to work. He signed a free-trade deal with the Association of South East Nations, which covers economic mapping from health and education to transport and tourism. Wen called the pact, which comes into effect July 1, a key step toward creating the world's most populous free-trade zone—something China is hoping to establish by 2015 with ASEAN's 10 member countries, including Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. China and the ASEAN members began lowering trade barriers in 2005 and it's paying off. Two way trade last year totalled US\$160 billion—up 33 per cent from 2005.

BENJI AND TERRI D'WYN LIVING THE WILDLIFE

When he died last September of a string-puncture to the heart, Steve "Crocodile Hunter" Irwin left behind a talented daughter—and a pretty decent wife. Steve Irwin is saying that Terri Irwin is pushing her eight-year-old daughter into the spotlight too soon after her father's death. The mother and daughter are currently touring North America with Irwin's new singing/dancing/animal-wrestling stage show, carrying on an old career and the talk-show circuit. Irwin's fourth-grade kid, pregnant with the jungle. Terri Irwin, a newly appointed touristic ambassador for Australia, describes her destination as a place that's overpopulated by her daughter: "I don't have to make her sing and dance. She asks to."



MOIRA CAMERON HOPE SHE HAS A BIG APPETITE

After 16 years on the *Entertainment Weekly* Office Movie Game show, is getting a new uniform—this summer, she'll be wearing the scarlet and blue day-to-day livery of a *Glenn* or *Lawrence* beefsteak. Cameron has not lost weight, but she's not going to become the first female beefsteak (accidentally a woman wonder) as the couple's 152-year history. The nickname comes from historical accounts of the beefsteak's prodigious appetite—in 1832 the daily ration for 3000, guarding St. James's Palace included 24 lb. of beef and 18 lb. of mutton. While Cameron's duties will largely be that of a tour guide, she'll also be guarding the crown jewels. The perks include a horse on lower grounds. But she'll have to give the palace's ravens which, according to legend, will cause the Tower to fall and the monarchy to end if they leave. Cameron admits to being "quite frightened of them."



MIKE NIFONG DUKE LACROSSE CASE REVERSES FIELD

When Mike Nifong became the chief prosecutor last March in the lawsuit against three Duke University lacrosse players accused of sexually assaulting a stripper, he promised: "My presence here means that this case is not over." Last week, Nifong resigned amid ethics charges that he made inflammatory comments, calling the suspected rape an athlete's "nothing but a bunch of hoochies." Nifong has also taken heat for having the plaintiffs already suspects using a photo lineup of the team. (She recently changed details of her story about the alleged assault.) And a judge says that he and Nifong agreed to withhold information about that case of the victim's DNA was found on the alleged victim's body or undergarments. These charges could result in charges being dropped against the Duke players. But one member of the lawsuit's legal team told *Mike Nifong*: "My Nifong, you will pay every day for the rest of your life."

CAROLYN GORN TRAPPED BY A MONSTERBUSH GELA

Carolyn Gorn, who was missing in New Mexico's Gila National Forest during a solo camping trip last month, was a second-year lacrosse player at the University of California, Berkeley. She was missing for two weeks after the official search for her body was called off. In a body of water, brother Albert and Peter Kozicki decided to take a longer route out of the forest where they had been backpacking. They spent three days in the Gila River, where she had become trapped when rain and snow caused it to swell unexpectedly. They crossed the river to reach her but real used the two weeks to account for them. So the two university students left her with some food, some firewood and a book to read (*Michael Crichton's* *One* was found on the alleged victim's body or undergarments. These charges could result in charges being dropped against the Duke players. But one member of the lawsuit's legal team told *Mike Nifong*: "My Nifong, you will pay every day for the rest of your life."

MAURICE EDU AND HOW, IN OTHER SOCIETY NEWS...

While David Beckham took all the headlines last week by announcing that he was leaving Real Madrid to play with the Los Angeles Galaxy for US\$150 million over five years, Toronto FC made Maurice Edu the first overall pick in the 2007 Major League Soccer draft. The 20-year-old University of Maryland All-American, who went into the draft after his junior year, is a defensive midfielder who helped the Terrapins win national championship in 2007. Toronto FC, which makes its debut in the MLS on April 3, has already paid more than 10,000 season tickets—1,600 of those seats couldn't have been sold. Edu's coach told the fact he's a little bit soccer-mad. "It's unusual that he's going into the league," said Edu, who has great ball-handling skills and is considered a solid two-way player. "Growing up, David Beckham was someone I had in awe."



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THE REAL AMERICAN IDOL

'Tis the awards season, when stars adopt humble poses and claim that only the Work matters. But we know better. BRIAN D. JOHNSON calls the winners and losers.

film

It's Hollywood's annual peewee ritual: Next Tuesday morning in Los Angeles, the side stars will go off as just before 6:30 a.m., nervous fingers will fumble for the most and the more industry will turn in to the Oscar nominees. *Academy Awards* was officially launched after the week of the Golden Globes, which have become a kind of pre-Oscar party. Chosen by the Hollywood Foreign Press Association—a small club of media gossip columnists who are easily lobbied—the Globes are a lavish fraud. But Hollywood loves them. The ceremony is more fun than the Oscars, with less acrobatic. Nominees can drink their way through the evening with their pals. And everyone's there: the TV commentators are invited to mingle with Hollywood royalty. But no one is under any illusions. The Globes are on Oscar's worst party and publicity mill, agitating with bad gold. In accepting the Globes for her movie musical or comedy, *Dreamgirls*' producer Lawrence Mark spoke it out with unimpassioned candor: "We appreciate his honor and I'm sure we'll

be advertising it in about 30 seconds." Later, when *Ruby*'s Mexican director Alejandro González Iñárritu accepted the best movie drama award from *California* Gay Arnold Schwimmer—after a joke saying "I want to thank my papers in order!"—he unleashed a virtual Oscar campaign speech, praising the 5,200 people who worked on *Ruby* in five languages and four countries.

The Golden Globes, and the slew of prizes dished out by associations of actors, producers, directors, screenwriters and critics, are all a dress rehearsal for the only award that really counts: the naked guy with the sword between his legs. He's the little god who has the stars wrestling with the toughest acting challenge of their careers: portraying themselves while affecting a humble pose and claiming that nothing matters but the Work. To be fair, many actors actually believe this. Especially when they lose. And this past year, the Work has indeed been unusually good. For once, there's a real man, with more than one word naming him, who's the reason for. And although awards won't be handed out until Feb. 25, they've never been only for predictions.

Dreamgirls is the clear front-runner for Best Picture. Helen Mirren, who won Golden Globes for playing both Elizabeth I on TV and Elizabeth II on the big screen, is an easy choice to win Best Actress for portraying Britain's current monarch in *The Queen*. As a living incarnation of the American dream, Jennifer Hudson seems guaranteed to repeat her Globe victory for Best Supporting Actress. And the race for Best Actor will come down to a rivalry between a blood-thirsty African despot (Forest Whitaker's *Idi Amin in The Last King of Scotland*) and a charming generic film (Pierce O'Toole's *Aristotle*). This year marks the revenge of the elders. The Best Actor category will be dominated by three veterans—Mirren, Meryl Streep and Judi Dench. And there's a potential showdown between America's two most confident

directors, Martin Scorsese and Clint Eastwood. Scorsese's *The Departed*, a remake of a Hong Kong crime thriller, and Eastwood's *Letters from Iwo Jima*, a war movie almost entirely in Japanese, could be competing for Best Picture and Director. Scorsese's nomination in both categories is more secure than Eastwood's. And he's second as far as Oscar it has become a running gag. The Lucy sitting up the football for Charlie Brown and smashing it away in the last minute.

Karwood needs another Oscar like *Ruby* needs another sequel—he's won four as producer or director. But Commander Clint is approaching Hollywood stardom. And in '75, he's pulled off a *Blondie* feat, making two unbecomingly and over open back, back, Flies of our fathers, thank you. Unleashed with military precision—at a time when America's gaze was on Iraq because the bad dream that could only get worse—these opposite views of the same righteousness runners looked like the nation of dji vu.

However, most people go to movies to get laid, then be reminded of it. As much as the Oscars serve as an altar for high-minded films, Hollywood pacts good dreams over bad, living nothing better than an insight spectacle with a texture of social justice. And that's why *Dreamgirls* is the American Idol we're large, or rather a Hollywood antidote to life's only rule of *Dreamgirls* (cinema). Huston, who was previously tarred in an idol contest, drove winding, his race halfway through the movie with his shoe stepping performance is a singer who's almost at the top of the spotlight. Huston has been a star since he was a child. A triumphant narrative on nostalgia, *Dreamgirls* is a kind of *Blondie* in the 1940s, Broadway musical on which it's based. But it's also without precedent a major studio spectacle with an all-black cast, a bevy of female leads, and an exceptional lift that puts a feminist backdrop on the civil rights movement. It's an Oscar war dream.

Aide from *Dreamgirls*, the most likely Best Picture candidate is *Slade, The Departed* and *The Queen*. That leaves *Late May Summer*, *Two Jaws* and *United 9/11* to fight it out for the fifth spot. *Slade*, the anti-Oscar-Oscar drama movie, is this year's *Crash*, a real-life melodrama of interlocking narratives that converge along ragged fault lines of intolerance. In *Crash*, men rolled in unbecomingly Los Angeles, in *Slade*, children are cut off from their parents in a puzzle of borders and haven on their own terms.

Slade shows war on a global scale at a time when Hollywood seems fixated on global anxiety. In 2005, we saw these pos-

Pierce O'Toole, Aristotle
grooming Britain's current monarch in *The Queen*. As a living incarnation of the American dream, Jennifer Hudson seems guaranteed to repeat her Globe victory for Best Supporting Actress. And the race for Best Actor will come down to a rivalry between a blood-thirsty African despot (Forest Whitaker's *Idi Amin in The Last King of Scotland*) and a charming generic film (Pierce O'Toole's *Aristotle*).

This year marks the revenge of the elders. The Best Actor category will be dominated by three veterans—Mirren, Meryl Streep and Judi Dench. And there's a potential showdown between America's two most confident

AND THE HOMINIDS (left to right): Annette Bening, Forest Whitaker and Helen Mirren are main-chip contenders



HELICOPTERS rescue soldiers from South Vietnam, 1975. 'The helicopter,' says John O'Sullivan, 'was braver than the defeat.'

When leaders showed courage

In this defeatist climate, it's a shock to remember three who changed the world

BY MARK STEIN

"It felt like August," wrote the *National Review*'s editor, Jack Lowy, about eight months after 9/11. August 2001, that is, the month America's war on terror seemed to have lost its energy and the "sleeping giant" appeared to be resuming his slumber. Five years on, it's more than that: Africa is like the sewer.

Now as then, America seems lost a sleep- ing giant that a helpless one, consumed by filibusters and longing for release. Some Republicans distrust themselves from the President's "surge" in Iraq, others doubt- ing along with it, but without any great confidence it will make a difference. Democrats, meanwhile, are all too aware of defeat. Explicitly threatening to cut off funds for "Bush's war," Senator Ted Kennedy accused a 2001 Vietnam "aggressor" analogue as adding a new charge. Ignominiously formulated "in Vietnam," he recalled, "the White House grew increasingly obsessed with victory, and more severely divorced from the will of the people and any rational policy."

"Obsessed with victory?" In the history of warfare, rare parties have been "obsessed with victory" to one degree or another, ever since Cincinnatus left childbed Cincinnatus. Glad if you're not "obsessed with victory," you probably shouldn't have got into the war in the first place. It would be more accurate to say that Kennedy and his moldyfigs like are obsessed with defeat, and they're pre- pared to do what's necessary to help inflict it. The famous photographs of the de- parting chaplains laid off from the U.S. Em- bassy in Saigon with pleading faces cling- ing to the unfair courage are images not just of defeat but also of the betrayal necessary to

accomplish it. "In reality," writes John O'Sul- livan in his splendid new book *The President, the Pope and the Prisoner*, "the triumph was truer than the defeat: America had not been defeated on the battlefield and South Vietnamese ground forces had therefore de- fended a full-scale North Vietnamese in- vasion in 1971 when they still enjoyed U.S. support. Not only did the United States withhold such support in 1975, but Congress also refused to supply even the most minimal and military supplies that it had promised when the American forces left. For some per- sonal psychological motive, the American establishment acted as if the United States would not be generously free of involvement in Vietnam until its allies were defeated and occupied."

To sum, since everyone was abandoned. The U.S. ambassador (opening off of ap- point to a former Cambodian prime minister, Seng Maly) "was, alas, at least in a certain way," he replied. "I never be- lieved for a moment that you would have this sentiment of abandoning a people who has chosen liberty." As O'Sullivan adds, "It was worse than that. In the final hour, America reneged again." Seng Maly signed in Phnom Penh and was rescued by the Khmer Rouge, but to worse another 1.7 million people, and a pile of skulls that high is hard to overes-

ter than that mangled. Still, it's startling, given the appalling damage that arose in the wake of "peace," to find noble figures like John Kerry and Patsy Walker (the New York Times publisher) still promoting and congratulating themselves for their stance three decades later.

O'Sullivan's book is not about the sevens but about this modern Reagan, Thatcher and John Paul II. I ought to devote a night to re- view, but I have the same publisher. On the other hand, my book is concerned with the vast unexplored side of history—the de- mographic decline in Europe, Russia, China and Japan (and Canada), and the great surge of Islam, the millions of noncitizens who have lately made up the numbers in the world's western democracies. O'Sullivan comes at the big picture from the opposite end, a view of countless individuals who weren't swept along by the current but instead, through sheer force of personality, stopped historical inevitability cast in its tracks.

He sketches the book "Three Who Changed the World," said their undeniable. What's more open to question by the end is whether the three "saved the world." Mrs. Thatcher's reign in particular is longer term and more like a magnificent interruption as Britain's basic economic self-doubt, which was not or not the British people were worthy of their efforts, but were wrecked partly curiously won't. The Conservatives' current leader, whose name escapes me, is a philosophical

unwashed squall of almost parodic mind- chess who has managed political "courage" by boasting about how much of Thatcher's own values he's willing to toss overboard. O'Sullivan thinks this is more plausible. They party is going through. "Once it recovers from its continuing nervous breakdown, it will surely see its next to Churchill in its past." But it's not clear it ever will recover from its modern, which makes admission to its past less a virtue than a sin. As for the Pope, whoever his achievements in eastern Europe and beyond, in the Catholic world he was unable to hold the Church's long de- clare and the broadly world's self-absorption of post-Christian Europe.

And what of America? Of all three figures, Ronald Reagan, buoyant and optimistic, would seem to be the one most obvious to take with his people. When I first read an advance



BRITISH Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in 1988

copy of the book a week or two before Amer- ica's real term elections, it was heroic and inspiring. According to it again a couple of months later, the early version on the streets. "The Nightman's Train," as O'Sullivan's admirably blunt designation—now seems increasingly topical. He puts a question mark after "The Decline of the West" but it was pretty much a given then those "The Center of Americanism," he declares, "was a post-Americanism that never before the concept of post-Americanism had been invented. They assumed that the 'American spirit' had come to its permanent end." It wasn't just that Carter was weakly ready to give to the chal- lenge of the times but that his inadequacy was presented as a kind of moral virtue. His promise of a government "as good as the American people" is characteristic of the man both as an orator and as a casual tell of his professions. One line, from a nonconformist address at Notre Dame, captures the style:

"We are now free of that inordinate fear of Communism which has led us to embrace any demon who grins up at our feet." As O'Sullivan notes, that single sentence per- forms multiple tasks: it "isolated the so- vey," "induced the United States," and ad- vanced a new hostile toward "unreliable allies" who shared traditional views of the apparently new, common Communist threat. The Carter administration was not, how- ever, a new focus, but the coalition of in- dependent moderate conservatives who replaced it was a "double-edged sword," since radicals who were attracted to whichever system con- firmed most with America's interests, and foreign policy "realists" who'd crested that lower Communism was a permanent but stable feature of the global scene.

The policy was unusual on both counts: the Common proved in the eyes of the peo- ple, but in the speeches they were certainly profoundly demoralizing, gobbling up previously Anglo-American real estate across the planet from Vietnam to Aden to Grenada, and, through edges like Thatcher, a reimagining of the West under the empire's rules of "liberty." Reagan, Thatcher and the Pope refused to accept these "new realities." They were fighting not just foreign adver- saries but the domestic conservative world, so when John Paul II interrupted the Sen- ator's attempt to block a papal Mass in Managua by crying "Shenon!" and sending down to see his critics, it was surely more demoralizing than Harold Pinter, John Kerry and O'Neil's other Western speakers then in audience in East America.

The single episode that symbolizes the reputation of Carter's "realism" is the Falklands War. To Moscow and the world, Carter had embodied the West in a smiling couch, and there were who hadly dispatched the helicopters to Iran only to have them crash in the desert and sit by in costly and late-poled the corpses of U.S. servicemen on TV. Why would the world's archaic ethnic little line prove any more formidable? But O'Sullivan reminds us not just of Mrs. Thatcher's determination to see the war, but of the determined ones are the faced in the wake of liberation to reward Argentina for its aggression—so, in effect, give away her vic- tory. "We were prepared to negotiate before, the said," but not now. "We have lost a lot of blood, and it's the best blood." Or as English says again: "If they're worth fighting for, then they must be worth keeping."

He's right. Yet the surreal landscape cycles know the tactical point of everything that the strategic value of nothing. The Falklands were as an enemy and a casualty, mostly on its and held. But, says O'Sullivan, "This was not a much larger prize was to make. To make

MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY ALAN H. BOND

Fiction LAST WEEK'S RANK

1. **SUTTER PRINCIPLES**
by David Shields 100
2. **THE VIEW FROM CASTLE ROCK**
by Anne Murray 270
3. **NOTHING AND SOMETHING**
by Corm McCarthy 30
4. **SECRETS FROM THE WHITE CAVE**
by Stuart Hillman 300
5. **TRAVEL BY DAY, GERMANY BY NIGHT**
by William Boyd 800
6. **RECKLESS**
by William Boyd 800
7. **THE GUSTAVO GARCIA PARADE**
by Wayne Johnston 700
8. **THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BRIDGE**
by Henry Lincoln 600
9. **DEWY & DUNE**
by Anne Murray 600
10. **THE LAW OF DREAMS**
by Peter Brown 810

Non-Fiction

1. **NODIN IN CHINA**
by Margaret MacLean 200
2. **COOKING & LIVING BLACK**
by Tom Brown 800
3. **THE GOOD DELUSION**
by David Shields 100
4. **HAUSTING: HEARD NOT ANSWERED**
by John H. Bond 200
5. **THE ARCHITECTURE OF HAPPINESS**
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6. **THE CHILDREN'S GATE**
by John H. Bond 200
7. **THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE THUNDERBOLT**
by John H. Bond 200
8. **MYSTERY OF THE MIDDLE AGES**
by Thomas C. Cull 100
9. **RIGHT SIDE UP**
by Tom Brown 800
10. **THE UPRISING OF POPE**
by Thomas C. Cull 100

a diplomatic retreat the cleanest of what had become a great nation's cause would have confirmed and perpetuated the dismal myth of post-British decline. Instead, "victory produced what everyone knows as the 'Falklands effect'—a revival through self-confidence across the board and of Britain's reputation internationally."

The Falklands weren't just about the Falk- lands, any more than Iraq is about Iraq. In Canada today they're recombining to the defeatist myth—the inviolability of the so- called, then, Mount, now, Britain, but plus change. This available book reminds us that while there are wars and the pathologies of their societies remain distressingly common. It feels like the sweeter, and it shouldn't.

FINALLY A BOOK ABOUT . MEDICAL MALFEASANCE

The case against the U.S. medical establishment exhibited in a significant perspective of the American medical system in the historical context for today. Medical Apartheid (Doubleday) by Harriet Washington is a scathing examination that stretches from colonial times through the infamous Tuskegee syphilis study of 1932 to 1972—during which doctors only pretended to treat black sharecroppers—to today's public health inequalities.



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taste



RAW DEAL: Michael Schmidt stands in front of a store after he contravened a law forbidding the sale of unpasteurized milk.

Pasture, check. Pasteur? No, thanks.

Raw-milk fans have long said unpasteurized tastes better. But is it less safe? Not always.

BY DANIELA OREFFERT • Quebec's best raw cheese is living up to its name. La Savoyeuse, or the Little Wild One, was the 2006 top honour at the International Canadian Cheese Grand Prix, adding another feather to the cap worn by warriors who defend the right to eating, sometimes foods. The uncouth, unpasteurized fromage is born of an ancient tradition that recently was heated debate among scientists, politicians and producers over the value and safety of raw, fluid milk and the cheese made from it. One Canadian's passion is another one's milk. "Life is full of risks. Raw is a very risky thing. Eating raw-milk cheese is choosing with death," says Peter Pratine, owner of the Cheese Boutique in Toronto's west end. He grew up in Turkey drinking raw fluid milk. "It was a necessity," he says. "I don't want to repeat it, the risk of raw milk, but we learn to manage risk."

Raw milk comes with bacteria and is highly perishable. But while proponents hail it as a perfect food when handled with care, detractors, such as the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, argue drinking it with playing Russian roulette. In Canada, that option is limited by federal law: raw-milk is illegal unless supplied by your own cow. Yet the recent crackdown on an Ontario farm reveals a growing black market of consumers who defy the laws and seek out raw-milk products as Michel Schmidt. The German-born farmer made headlines last fall when his operation was raided for contravening the Milk Act. He has provided 150 families with raw milk for a year through a cow-leasing program. He was fined publicly this month by the Ontario Veterinary College, which is offering a \$5,000 fine, equally with Schmidt's partner.

Knowledge accounts of raw-milk milk is a long

from the wider world, but the spirit in the backer method is no more practiced by microcosm like Schmidt than by rural traditions such as Parmesan. In fact, although he looks like a quiet farmer, complete with a dairy man's cap, Schmidt is a thoroughly modern agromechanics moving a milking operation standardized by 20th-century technology. At his 400-acre Glenlea Farm, vacuum pumps suck the teats of the cows. The creamy liquid flows through the udder through a stainless-steel pipeline, then into a quick-cooling phase and directly into stainless-steel containers kept in refrigerated facilities.

He is not concerned about safety, either. He argues safety should begin not only with production but with the quality of soil, feed and breed. He has raised Canadiana, one of the country's first dairy breeds, as pastured in summer and fed hay in winter, which allows them to be free of the antibiotics needed to counter illnesses due to more conventional grain diets. "Unlike 'Holstein' cattle, which are confined and milked for maximum yield, Schmidt's cows are milked only twice daily and provide about 1,500 litres annually per head, which is just a little below what was standard volume in the late '50s. Today, Canada's average is 10,000 litres per cow."

Scale is key. Milk first gained a dairy reputation in the 19th century, when the mass

source shifted from the family farm to industrial dairies supplying growing citywork. ex. Commercial cattle units, delivery carts, and even fixed were often filthy with dirt, and that might become a killer, mostly infecting babies with TB, and the best treatment known at the time was pasteurization. It was mandated in Canada in 1916.

Schmidt, who favours pasteurization for safety in industrialized dairy production, says the issue is choice, and consumers are fully so to protect their right. Producers agree a 2006 proposal by Health Canada to outlaw all but pasteurized cheese earned access to unpasteurized cheese—either 100 per cent aged 60 days or more. (That means old baby but you can sip it in those 100 per cent here.) In the U.S., where raw milk is legal in more than 20 states, an estimated 100,000 litres are abandoned after repeated appeals. New EU warning labels for cheeses such as Parmesan and Emmentaler—cheeses that prohibit use of pasteurized milk—are still pending.

In terms of pure taste, Pratine finds no comparison. "What's unique is raw unpasteurized cheeses," he says. He proposed marriage to his wife, Madeline, some 14 years ago while they shared a ball of raw milk mozzarella de bufalina in the Italian regional Campania. As far as that hot little cheese from Quebec, he would like to age it in the shop's cellars, but decided to say "No." "We have never been able to get around raw milk cheese at this moment. Let's not keep it stuck." ■

TODAY'S SPECIAL...GOING POSTAL FOR PORK
To celebrate the upcoming New Year's Eve, China has released a special stamp, and today's special stamp is featuring the Year of the Pig. When scratched, they are 1 kilometre and 100 metres, and when licked, they actually taste like the dish. Other food-inspired stamps have included a chocolate-centred Swiss stamp and a green tea-flavoured stamp in Hong Kong. There's no word yet on plans for next year. The Year of the Rat.

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